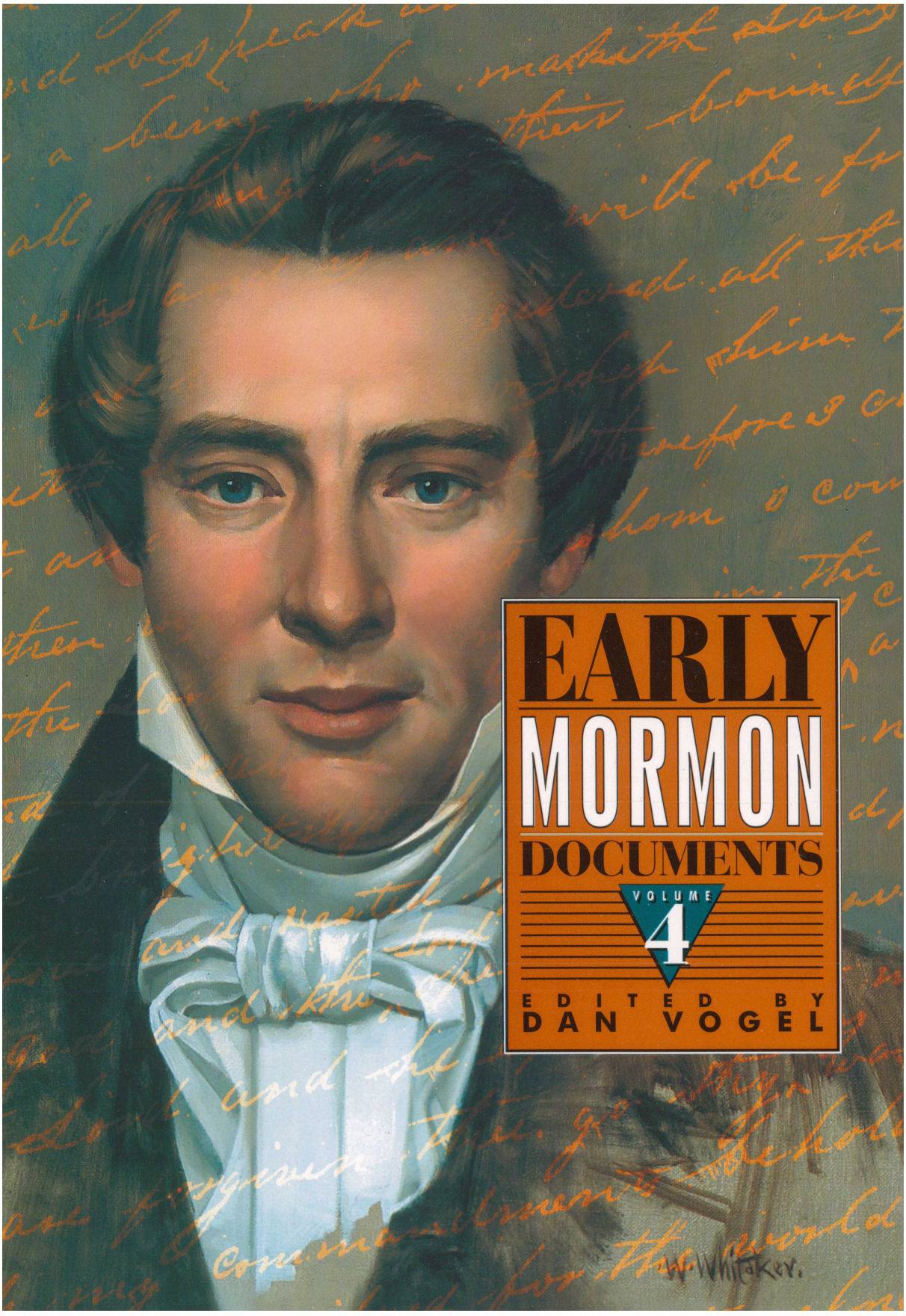

EARLY
MORMON
DOCUMENTS
VOLUME
4
EDITED BY
DAN VOGEL

EARLY MORMON DOCUMENTS

VOLUME IV

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

DAN VOGEL

SIGNATURE BOOKS
SALT LAKE CITY

JACKET DESIGN BY SCOTT KNUDSEN

Early Mormon Documents, Volume IV, was printed on acid-free paper
and was composed, printed, and bound in the United States.

© 2002 Signature Books. All rights reserved.
Signature Books is a registered trademark of Signature Books Publishing, LLC.
06 05 04 03 02 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Early Mormon documents / compiled and edited by Dan Vogel
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1-56085-159-7 (v. 4)
1. Mormon Church—History—Sources. 2. Church of Jesus Christ of
Latter-day Saints—History—Sources. 3. Smith, Joseph, 1805-1844—
Family—History—Sources. I. Vogel, Dan
BX8611.E19 2002
289.3'09—dc20 94-40565
CIP

CONTENTS

PART IV.
MORMON ORIGINS IN COLESVILLE AND SOUTH BAINBRIDGE, NEW YORK

Introduction to Colesville and South Bainbridge, New York, Documents 3

A. KNIGHT FAMILY COLLECTION

1. Joseph Knight, Sr., Reminiscence, Circa 1835-1847 11
2. Newel Knight Journal, Circa 1846 25
3. Newel Knight Autobiography, Circa 1846 45
4. Joseph Knight, Jr., Statement, 11 August 1862 66
5. Joseph Knight, Jr., History, 16 August 1862 71

B. STOWELL FAMILY COLLECTION

1. Josiah Stowell, Jr., to John S. Fullmer, 17 February 1843 77
2. Martha Campbell to Joseph Smith, 19 December 1843 82
3. Lyman Stowell Reminiscence, 1901 86

C. MISCELLANEOUS EARLY SOURCES

1. John Sherer to Absalom Peters, 18 November 1830 91
2. Abram W. Benton Reminiscence, March 1831 94
3. Jared Carter Reminiscence, 1832 100
4. Cyrus Smalling to Dear Sir, 10 March 1841 104
5. Joel K. Noble to Jonathan B. Turner, 8 March 1842 106
6. John S. Reed Reminiscence, 1844 112

D. MISCELLANEOUS LATE SOURCES

1. John S. Reed to Brigham Young, 6 December 1861 121
2. William D. Purple Reminiscence, 28 April 1877 127
3. *Bainbridge* (NY) *Republican*, 23 August 1877 138
4. William S. Sayre to James T. Cobb, 31 August 1878 143
5. George Collington, Smith Baker, Harriet Marsh, and Rebecca Nurse Interviews with Frederick G. Mather, July 1880 148

6. Frederick G. Mather Interviews with Residents of Broome and Chenango Counties (NY), July 1880 160
7. Emily (Colburn) Austin Autobiography, 1882 164
8. Asa B. Searles Reminiscence, 1882 177
9. K. E. Bell Statement, 1885 178
10. William R. Hine Statement, Circa March 1885 181
11. Sally Ann Beardsley Reminiscence, 1898 189
12. Lu B. Cake Accounts, 1899 & 1912 191
13. Harvey Baker Reminiscence, 1900 196
14. Sally Ann Beardsley Affidavit, 27 March 1903 201
15. Harriet E. Shay Affidavit, 27 March 1903 203
16. Nan Hill Account, 1939 205
17. Isaac DeMill Statement, 1857 209

E. MISCELLANEOUS NON-RESIDENT SOURCES

1. *Brattleboro'* (VT) *Messenger*, 20 November 1830 213
2. Sidney Rigdon Interview with Ohio Residents, February 1831 215
3. Sally Knight Obituary, 1834 217
4. Hamilton Child Account, 1869 219
5. S. S. Randall Account, 1874 222
6. James H. Smith Account, 1880 224
7. Henry P. Smith Account, 1885 228
8. *Bainbridge* (NY) *Enterprise*, 16 August 1888 230
9. *Binghamton* (NY) *Herald*, 18 December 1895 234

F. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

1. Bainbridge (NY) Court Record, 20 March 1826 239
2. Albert Neely Bill of Costs, 1826 257
3. Philip DeZeng Bill of Costs, 1826 263
4. Joseph Chamberlin Bill of Costs, 1 July 1830 267
5. Ebenezer Hatch Bill of Costs, 4 July 1830 271

PART V.
MORMON ORIGINS IN HARMONY, PENNSYLVANIA

Introduction to Harmony, Pennsylvania, Documents 275

A. HALE-LEWIS FAMILY COLLECTION

1. Isaac Hale Statement, 1834 281
2. Alva Hale Statement, 1834 291
3. Nathaniel Lewis Statement, 1834 293

4. Levi Lewis Statement, 1834 296
5. Sophia Lewis Statement, 1834 298
6. Joseph and Hiel Lewis Statements, 1879 299
7. Hiel Lewis to James T. Cobb, 11 September 1879 317
8. Hiel Lewis to [James T. Cobb?], 29 September 1879 318

B. MISCELLANEOUS EARLY SOURCES

1. Joshua McKune Statement, 1834 325
2. Hezekiah McKune Statement, 1834 327
3. George Peck Account, 1843 328

C. MISCELLANEOUS LATE SOURCES

1. George Peck Account, 1860 333
2. J. B. Buck Account, Circa 1873 334
3. Mehetable Doolittle Reminiscence, 1877 337
4. Michael Morse Interview with William W. Blair, 8 May 1879 . . 340
5. Sally McKune, Mehetable Doolittle, Elizabeth Squires, Jacob I. Skinner, and Samuel Brush Interviews with Frederick G. Mather, July 1880 345
6. Frederick G. Mather Interviews with Susquehanna County (PA) Residents, July 1880 361
7. Henry A. Sayer Statement, 1885 367
8. Mr. Benson Account, 1893 369
9. William Smith Reminiscence, 1905 371

D. MISCELLANEOUS NON-RESIDENT SOURCES

1. Eber D. Howe Account, 1834 375
2. Charles Anthon to E. D. Howe, 17 February 1834 377
3. Charles Anthon to Thomas Winthrop Coit, 3 April 1841 382
4. Charles Thompson Account, 1841 387
5. Emily Blackman Account, 1873 389
6. *Amboy* (IL) *Journal*, 23 April 1879 398
7. Rhamanthus M. Stocker Account, 1887 400
8. E. W. Skinner Account, 1898 403

E. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

1. Articles of Agreement, 1 November 1825 407
2. Book of Mormon Characters, December 1827-February 1828 . . 415
3. Infant's Gravestone, 15 June 1828 418
4. Harmony (PA) Assessment Records, 1828-1831 421
5. Joseph Smith Harmony (PA) Land Records, 1828-1833 424

6. George H. Noble and Company vs. Joseph Smith, Jr., 26 August 1830 432
7. Harmony (PA) Census Record, 1830 438
8. Lusena Hupman Bill, 1830 440
9. Inscribed Book of Mormon, 1830 442

BIBLIOGRAPHY 445
INDEX 451

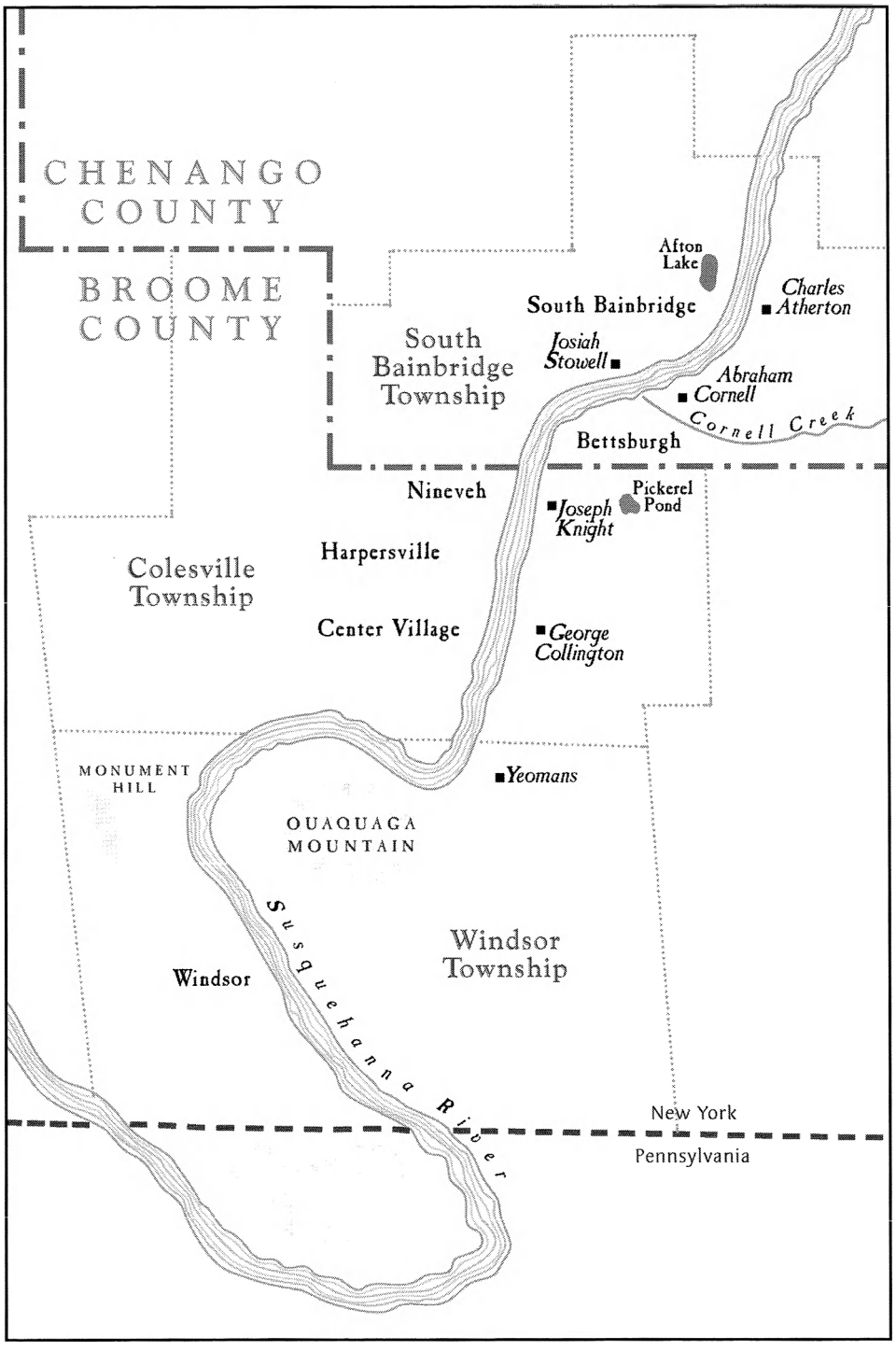
Illustrations

1. South Bainbridge, Colesville, and Windsor, New York (map) . . 2
2. Knight farm in Colesville, New York (photograph) 10
3. W. D. Purple (photograph) 126
4. Albert Neely bill (photomechanical reproduction) 258
5. Harmony, Pennsylvania (map) 274
6. Joseph Smith home in Harmony, Pennsylvania (photograph) . . . 290
7. Diagram of diggings (photomechanical reproduction) 390
8. Book of Mormon characters (photograph) 414
9. Infant's gravestone (photograph) 419
10. Harmony assessment record, 1829 (photomechanical reproduction) 423
11. Noble vs. Smith (photograph of document) 436
12. Noble vs. Smith, Addenda (photograph of document) 437
13. Inscribed Book of Mormon (photomechanical reproduction) . . . 443

PART IV.

§

Mormon Origins in Colesville and South Bainbridge, NEW YORK



South Bainbridge, Colesville, and Windsor, New York.

INTRODUCTION TO COLESVILLE AND SOUTH BAINBRIDGE, NEW YORK, DOCUMENTS

In October 1825 Josiah Stowell of South Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York, made his way up the newly-opened Erie Canal to visit his oldest son, Simpson Stowell, in Manchester, Ontario County, New York. By this time, Joseph Smith, Jr.'s, activities as a treasure seer were well known in Palmyra and Manchester. For years, Josiah had attempted to locate a lost Spanish silver mine along the banks of the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. This mutual interest in treasure seeking drew Stowell to the Smiths' Manchester residence. Stowell was amazed by young Joseph's ability to see distant places in his seer stone and therefore hired him on the spot (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 8; I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, 1853:91-92; IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826).

Both Joseph Sr. and Jr. accompanied Stowell back to South Bainbridge, and after gathering a small band of treasure seekers proceeded on to Harmony, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, where on 1 November 1825 "Articles of Agreement" were drawn up and signed stipulating how the treasure would be divided among the interested parties (V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825). According to Isaac Hale, at whose home the money diggers boarded, the company disbanded about 17 November (V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834). Although Smith's later accounts limited his treasure seeking activities to this one episode in Pennsylvania, he apparently continued similar ventures in Chenango and Broome Counties until his arrest and court hearing in March 1826. Peter Bridgeman, a nephew of Josiah Stowell who evidently believed Smith was conning his uncle, issued a warrant accusing Smith of being "a disorderly person and an Impostor." While the court's findings remain a matter of controversy, conclusions of innocence or guilt are less important than evidence of Smith's continued employment as a treasure seer (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826; IV.F.2, ALBERT NEELY BILL OF COSTS, 20 MAR 1826; IV.F.3, PHILIP DEZENG BILL OF COSTS, 1826; see also IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831; and IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877).

Immediately following his legal troubles in South Bainbridge, Joseph Smith, Jr., returned to Manchester, where he remained through the summer.

It was perhaps the prospect of marriage that lured him back to South Bainbridge about November 1826. Unable to hire Smith, Stowell referred him to Joseph Knight, Sr., of Colesville, Broome County, New York, located along the Susquehanna River about ten miles south of South Bainbridge. Smith worked for Knight until his marriage to Emma Hale, whom he had met while boarding at her father's residence in Harmony. Against the wishes of her parents, Emma married Joseph on 17 January 1827. The nuptials took place at the home of South Bainbridge justice of the peace Squire Tarbell (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 1; V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834). Very soon afterwards, Josiah Stowell helped convey the newlyweds to Manchester where they moved in with the Smith family.

In December 1827, however, Joseph and Emma relocated to Harmony. As the work of translation progressed, Joseph Knight occasionally visited them and gave them supplies. In late March 1830, Knight took Smith to Manchester and witnessed the organization of the church (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 6-7). Knight's son Newel was the first in the family to receive baptism during a visit to Fayette in May 1830. Other family members, including Joseph Knight, Sr., were baptized at a special meeting held in Colesville on 28 June (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 43; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 55). The Knight family, together with brother-in-law Hezekiah Peck's family, formed the nucleus of a small branch of the church in Colesville. Regarding this event, Richard L. Bushman has noted: "Altogether twenty-eight people came into the church through the Knight-Peck connection in the first few months. ... The Knights and the other families [in Colesville] accounted for sixty baptisms in the first nine months" (Bushman 1984, 151).

Resistance to the emergence of Mormonism in the Colesville area was headed by the Presbyterians. On the day before the June 1830 baptismal meeting, the Reverend John Sherer attempted to abduct young Emily Colburn in order to prevent her baptism, but was intercepted by her sister Sally (Colburn) Knight, wife of Newell Knight, and others. The following morning, Emily's brother-in-law arrived with a power of attorney ordering her immediate return to Sandford, Broome County, New York (IV.D.7, EMILY [COLBURN] AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 38-48; I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 42-43; IV.C.1, JOHN SHERER TO ABSALOM PETERS, 18 NOV 1830). Presbyterians Abram W. Benton, Nathan Boynton, and Cyrus McMaster were responsible for Joseph Smith's further legal difficulties in Colesville. On 30 June 1830 Smith was arrested there for being a "disorderly person" and taken before Justice Joseph

Chamberlin of South Bainbridge the following day (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 44-45; IV.F.5, EBENEZER HATCH BILL OF COSTS, 4 JUL 1830; IV.F.4, JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JUL 1830; I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:114, 1853:157; IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 8; IV.A.5, JOSEPH KNIGHT, JR., HISTORY, 1862, 215; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 55-56; IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843; IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831). Smith was acquitted but was immediately served with another warrant for trial in Colesville. The following day, 2 July, Smith appeared before Justice Joel K. Noble on the same charge but was eventually acquitted (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 44-45; I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS: Frag. 6, 1853:157; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 55-56; IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844; IV.D.1, JOHN S. REED TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, 6 DEC 1861; IV.F.5, EBENEZER HATCH BILL OF COSTS, 4 JUL 1830). Legally frustrated, Smith's enemies came to mob him, but he escaped and fled back to Harmony.

A "few days" after his return home, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery attempted to visit Colesville "intending to confirm those who had been baptized" but they were forced to flee. Richard L. Bushman has speculated that Smith and Cowdery received the Melchizedek priesthood from ancient apostles Peter, James, and John at this time (Bushman 1984, 163, 240-41 n. 55); Smith said the visitation took place "in the wilderness between Harmony, Susquehanna county, and Colesville, Broom[e] county, on the Susquehanna River" (I.A.21, JOSEPH SMITH TO THE CHURCH, 6 SEP 1842, 936), and a late account connects the angelic visitation with the events of 3 July 1830 (I.A.29, ADDISON EVERETT ACCOUNTS, 1881 & 1882). In this setting, the visitation would not have been connected with the already established office of elder, as is commonly assumed, but rather with the apostleship (see Doctrine and Covenants 27:12; hereafter D&C; see also Vogel 1988, 111-12).

Soon after Newel and Sally Knight visited Joseph and Emma Smith in Harmony in early September 1830 for the purpose of having Sally confirmed (see BofC XXVIII, heading), Joseph and Hyrum Smith, John Whitmer, and David Whitmer visited Colesville and finally confirmed those who had been baptized in June. The next day, Smith returned to Harmony (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 52-53; IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 63-64; IV.A.5, JOSEPH KNIGHT, JR., HISTORY,

16 AUG 1862; I.A.3, JOSEPH SMITH TO COLESVILLE SAINTS, 28 AUG 1830).

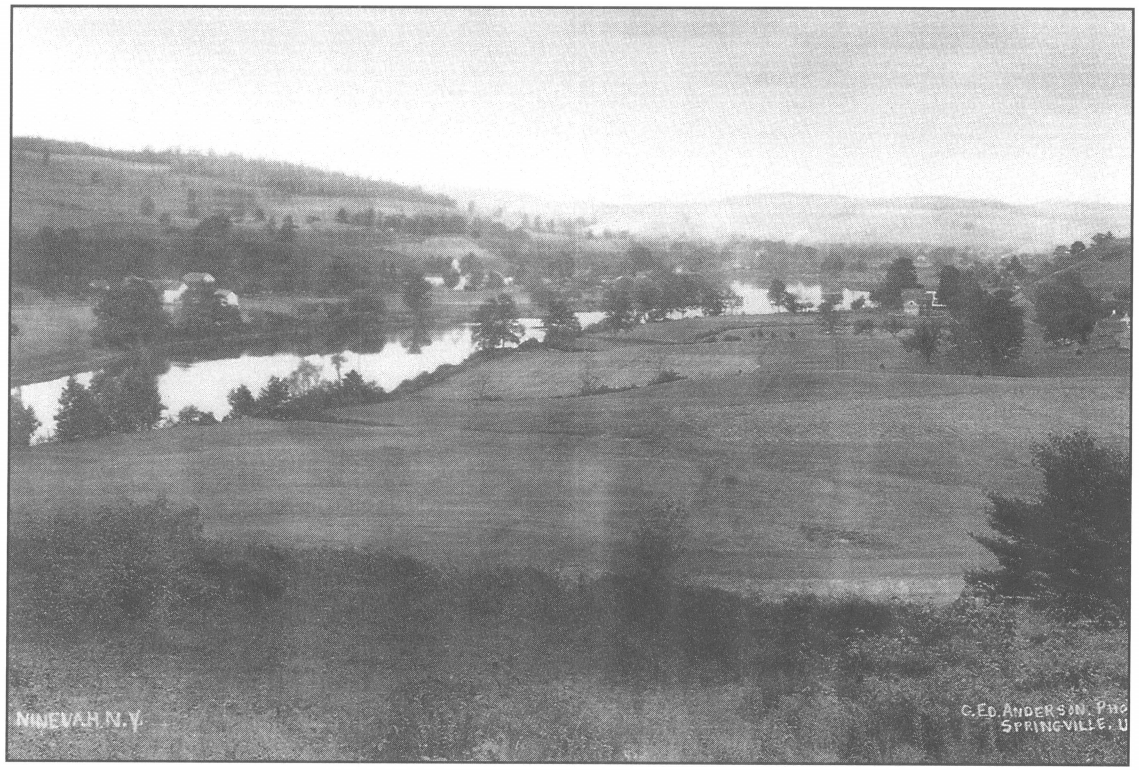
When Joseph Smith temporarily located in Fayette, New York, in late September, the focus of church affairs shifted from the Colesville branch. Yet, Smith kept in close contact with the Colesville church. In early October, Hyrum Smith and family moved in with Newel Knight, and the two men began traveling and preaching in the area (IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846; Porter 1971, 109). In early December, recent convert and newly ordained elder Orson Pratt arrived in Colesville from Fayette to help in the missionary effort (IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846; VI.F.8, ORSON PRATT ACCOUNT, 1858; I.A.5, JOSEPH SMITH TO COLESVILLE SAINTS, 2 DEC 1830). In January 1831 Joseph Smith and Ohio convert Sidney Rigdon visited the Colesville branch for "several days," during which time Rigdon preached in Joseph Knight's barn (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 8; IV.D.7, EMILY [COLBURN] AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 37-38; VI.B.1, JOHN WHITMER HISTORY, 1831, 9-12; IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880).

Although Joseph Smith had left Fayette for Kirtland, Ohio, in late January and urged others to do likewise, the Colesville branch waited for spring before leaving New York (IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846). The Knights left on 21 April and rendezvoused with other Colesville Saints at Ithaca, where they boarded a canal boat and departed on 25 April, arriving the following day at Cayuga Bridge situated at the north end of Cayuga Lake. At the bridge, they changed their lading to another canal boat and departed for Buffalo, arriving on 1 May. At Buffalo, they were joined by another group of Saints from Waterloo, New York, headed by Lucy Smith (IV.D.13, HARVEY BAKER REMINISCENCE, 1900; IV.D.15, HARRIET E. SHAY AFFIDAVIT, 27 MAR 1903; Porter 1971, 302-307). When the ice momentarily separated, Lucy's group left Buffalo, but the Colesville group was unable to follow. Jared Carter led a small group of brethren on land to Dunkirk, New York, where they boarded a steamboat to Fairport, Ohio, and then continued on to Kirtland. The Saints remaining at Buffalo finally left by schooner on 11 May, reaching Fairport three days later (Porter 1971, 307-308).

The following collection documents Joseph Smith's experiences as a treasure seer and laborer in Chenango and Broome Counties as well as his later activities as founder of the Church of Christ. The testimonies of the Knight and Stowell families—faithful converts—are of particular impor-

tance, as are the unfavorable statements of other residents. Non-resident sources, such as from Sidney Rigdon, bring additional information to Mormon studies. Miscellaneous civil documents pertaining to Joseph Smith's legal difficulties in 1826 and 1830 are also indispensable to understanding the hostilities engendered by Smith's activities as a treasure seer and later as a religious leader.

A.
Knight Family
COLLECTION



Nineveh (Colesville Township), Broome County, New York. Joseph Knight's 142-acre farm bordered the Susquehanna River just below Nineveh. George E. Anderson, 1907. Original in LDS Church Archives.

1.
JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847

Joseph Knight, Sr., "Manuscript of the History of Joseph Smith," circa 1835-1847, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772-1847), was born at Oakham, Worcester County, Massachusetts. He married Polly Peck about 1795 and moved to South Bainbridge, New York, in 1809, then to Colesville, New York, in 1811. In Colesville, he owned a farm and gristmill on the Susquehanna River. Although not rich, he was described by his son Newel as financially secure (IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 47).

It was undoubtedly their mutual friend Josiah Stowell who introduced Knight to Joseph Smith, if not before, then in the fall of 1826 when Stowell sent Smith to work for Knight. Smith's employment was brief, ending with his marriage to Emma Hale on 17 January 1827.

Visiting Manchester with Stowell in September, Joseph Knight, Sr., was present when Smith removed the plates from the hill and later when he brought them home. After Smith had located in Harmony, Pennsylvania, Knight aided the translation by sending money and supplies. Along with other members of his family, Knight was baptized on 28 June 1830 at Colesville.

In the winter of 1831, Knight put his Colesville farm up for sale and moved to Kirtland, Ohio. At the time, his property was described as being "situated in the town of Colesville, near the Colesville bridge—bounded on one side by the Susquehanna River, and containing about one hundred and forty two acres. On said farm are two Dwelling Houses, a good barn, and a fine Orchard" (*Broome County Republican,* 5 May 1831; see also IV.E.8, *BAINBRIDGE* [NY] *ENTERPRISE,* 16 AUG 1888). After a brief stay in Kirtland, Knight moved in June 1831 to Jackson County, Missouri, then in 1839 to Nauvoo, Illinois. On 18 March 1841 he was ordained a priest. He died at Mt. Pisgah, Iowa, during the Mormon exodus to Utah (Jessee 1989, 496; L. Cook 1981, 21-22). Of Joseph Knight, Sr., Joseph Smith declared in 1842: "[F]or fifteen years has he been faithful and true, and even handed, and exemplary and virtuous, and kind; never deviating to the right hand or to the

left. ... [T]herefore his name shall never be forgotten" (I.A.20, JOSEPH SMITH REFLECTIONS, 23 AUG 1842).

Sometime between 1835 and his death in February 1847, Knight wrote a history of Joseph Smith's early life, as he understood it, which included accounts of his own experiences with Smith. Because Knight's reminiscence ends with the events of 1833, some have concluded that it was written after that date (Jessee 1976, 30; D. Hill 1977, 461, n. 1; Quinn 1994, 19-20), but apparent use of the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants provides a more accurate low-end date. Richard L. Bushman referred to Knight's history as "[t]he most candid and revealing of the reminiscences" of early Mormons (Bushman 1984, 190).

Joseph Knight, Jr., mentioned his father's history in 1862 (see IV.A.5, JOSEPH KNIGHT, JR., HISTORY, 16 AUG 1862). A clue to the provenance was provided by Larry C. Porter in 1971. Porter evidently referred to this document when he reported that Preston Nibley possessed a "'Joseph Knight' manuscript" which contained "many interesting details concerning the Knight family's association with Joseph Smith," stating also that "Drs. Hyrum L. Andrus, Richard L. Anderson and Truman Madsen, all saw this manuscript while Nibley was alive, but it has since disappeared" (Porter 1971, 196, n. 54). Fortunately, Dean C. Jessee rediscovered the document, apparently previously misfiled, in the LDS church archives.

The account is written in ink on both sides of five pages, with at least one beginning page missing; the incomplete condition has not been explained. The document is undated and unsigned, but according to Jessee, it appears to be written in Knight's hand (Jessee 1976, 30). A clerk's filing inscription appears on the document: "<22 Sept 1827> Manuscript of the <early> History of Joseph Smith <finding of plates, &c. &c.>."[1]

[...] From thence he [Joseph Smith] went to the hill where he was informed the Record was and found no trouble[,] for it appeared plain as tho he was acquainted with the place it was so plain in the vision that he had of the place[.] he went and found the place and opened it and found a plane Box he oncovered it and found the Book and took it out and laid [it] Down By his side and thot he would Cover the <place> over again thinkinking [thinking] there might be something else here But he was told to take the Book and go right away and after he had Covered the place he turned round to take <the>

---

1. The above-the-line insertions, according to Jessee, were added by Thomas Bullock, who worked as a church clerk from 1843 to 1857 (Jessee 1976, 30).

Book and it was not there and he was astonished that the Book was gone[2] he thot he would look in the place again and see if it had not got Back again[.] he had heard People tell of such things[3] and he opened the Box and Behold the Book was ~~gone~~ there he took hold of it to take it out again and Behold he Could not stur the Book any more then he Could the mount[a]in[.] he exclaimed why Cant I stur this Book [?] and he was answer[e]d you have not Done rite you should have took the Book and a gone right away you cant have it now[.] Joseph says when can I have it[?] the answer was the 22nt Day of September next if you Bring the right person with you[.] Joseph Says who is the right person[?] the answer was your oldest Brother[4] But before September Came his oldest Brother Died[5] then he was Disap[o]inted and did not [k]now what to do But when the 22nt Day of September [1824] Came he went to the place and the personage appeared and told him he Could not have it now But the 22nt Day of September nex[t] he mite have the Book if he Brot with him the right person[.] Joseph Says who is the right Person[?] the answer was you will know[.] then he looked in his glass and found it was Emma Hale[6] Daughter of old Mr Hail [Isaac Hale][7] of Pensylvany a girl that

---

2. Lucy Smith's account is similar, stating that Joseph Smith removed the plates from the box (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:40-44). However, both Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery state that Joseph was forbidden to remove the plates (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 7; III.G.13, OLIVER COWDERY TO W. W. PHELPS, OCT 1835, 198).

3. Oliver Cowdery made a similar statement: "On attempting to take possession of the record a shock was produced upon his system, by an invisible power, which deprived him, in a measure of his natural strength. He desisted for an instant, and then made another attempt, but was more sensibly shocked than before. What was the occasion of this he knew not ... he had heard of the power of enchantment, and a thousand like stories, which held the hidden treasures of the earth, and supposed physical exertion and personal strength was only necessary to enable him yet to obtain the object of his wish" (III.G.13, OLIVER COWDERY TO W. W. PHELPS, OCT 1835, 197-98).

4. The instruction to bring Alvin the following year is repeated in other sources: I.C.1, JOSEPH SMITH, SR., INTERVIEW WITH FAYETTE LAPHAM, 1830, 306-307; III.A.14, WILLARD CHASE STATEMENT, CIRCA 11 DEC 1833, 242; III.B.12, LORENZO SAUNDERS INTERVIEW, 17 SEP 1884; III.B.15, LORENZO SAUNDERS INTERVIEW, 12 NOV 1884, 16.

5. Alvin died on 19 November 1823.

6. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

7. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

he had seen Before[,] for he had Bin Down there Before with me[8] [p. 1]

Joseph then went to Mr [Josiah] Stowels[9] whare he had lived sometime Before But Mr Stowel Could not pay him money for his work very well and he came to me perhaps in November [1826] and worked for me until about the time that he was Married which I think was in February[10] and I paid him the money and I furnished him with a horse and Cutter to go and see his girl Down to Mr Hails and soon after this he was Married and Mr Stowel moved him and his wife to his fathers in Palmyra [Manchester] ontario County[.][11] nothing material took place untill toard fall the forepart of September [1827][.] I went to Rochester on Buisness and returned By Palmyra to be there about the 22nt of September[.] I was there Several Days[12] I will Say there [was] a man near By By [nearby] the name Samuel Lawrance[13] He was a Seear [seer][14] and he had Bin to the hill and knew about the things in the hill

---

8. Knight's apparent claim that Smith knew, from his 22 September 1824 visit to the hill, that Emma Hale would be the person is incorrect since Joseph and Emma did not meet until October or November 1825 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 8; V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834). Other sources claim that Smith knew it was Emma (III.A.15, HENRY HARRIS STATEMENT, CIRCA 1833, 252; III.B.15, LORENZO SAUNDERS INTERVIEW, 12 NOV 1884, 16; III.F.1, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEWS WITH JOHN A. CLARK, 1827 & 1828). According to Willard Chase and Lorenzo Saunders, Smith at first believed the person was Samuel Lawrence (III.A.14, WILLARD CHASE STATEMENT, CIRCA 11 DEC 1833, 243; III.B.12, LORENZO SANDERS INTERVIEW, 17 SEP 1884, 10). See also Quinn 1987, 137-39. The occasion of Knight's visiting Harmony with Smith prior to the latter's marriage is unknown.

9. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

10. Joseph Smith and Emma Hale were married on 18 January 1827 at South Bainbridge, New York.

11. Joseph Smith said he worked for Stowell at the time of his marriage and that he left "immediately" afterwards (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 8).Lucy Smith said that Emma and Joseph arrived in Manchester in January 1827 (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:58).

12. Lucy Smith said that Joseph Knight and Josiah Stowell arrived in Manchester on 20 September 1827 and that they were preparing to leave after breakfast on 22 September but evidently remained several more days to see Joseph bring home the plates (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:60; also IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843).

13. On Samuel F. Lawrence, see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, n. 147.

14. William G. Hartley's reading that Lawrence was "a juror [conjurer or magic-worker]" is an error (Hartley 1986, 25).

and he was trying to obtain them[.][15] he [Joseph Smith] had talked with me and told me the Conversation he had with the personage which told him if he would Do right according to the will of God he mite obtain [the plates] the 22nt Day of Septem[b]er Next and if not he never would have them.[16] Now Joseph <was> some affraid of him [Samuel Lawrence] that he mite be a trouble to him[.] he therefore sint his father up to Sams as he Called him near night to see if there was any signs of his going away that night[.] he told his father to stay till near Dark and if he saw any signs of his going you till [tell] him if I find him there I will thrash the stumps with him. so the old man Came a way and saw no thing like it ~~th~~ this is to shoe [show] the troubles he had from time to time to obtain the plates[17]

So that night we all went to Bed and in the morning I got up and my Horse and Carriage was gone But after a while he [Joseph Smith] Came home and he turned out the Horse[.] all Come into the house to Brackfi<rst> [breakfast][.] But no thing said about where they had Bin[.] after Brackfirst Joseph Cald me into the other Room and he set his foot on the Bed and leaned his head on his hand and says well I am Dissop[o]inted. well say I[,] I am sorrey[.] Well says he[,] I am grateley Dissop[o]inted, it is ten times Better then I expected. then he went on to tell the Length and width and thickness of the plates[,][p. 2] and[,] said he[,] they appear to be Gold But he seamed to think more of the glasses or the urim and thummem then [than] he Did of the Plates for[,] says he[,] I can see any thing[.] they are Marvelus[.] Now they are writen in Caracters and I want them translated[.] Now he was Commanded not to let no one see those things But a few for witness at a given time. Now it soon got about that Joseph Smith had found the plates and peopel Came in to see them But he told them that they Could not for he

---

15. See III.A.14, WILLARD CHASE STATEMENT, CIRCA 11 DEC 1833, 243.

16. This conflicts with Lucy Smith's statement that "[i]t <was> signified to him when he should make annother effort to obtain the plates which was september 22 [1827] but at this time he did not make this known to us" (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:60). This also seems clear by the fact that Joseph Sr. did not know his son had gone after the plates and Stowell and Knight were preparing to leave seemingly before the anticipated event would have occurred. It is unlikely that, had Knight known that Smith was planning to get the plates on that day (22 September), he would have been so anxious to leave so early in the morning (Porter 1971, 195).

17. Lucy Smith also tells of Joseph Sr. spying on Samuel Lawrence but that it occurred several days after Joseph Jr. removed the plates from the hill (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:63-66). Lucy's version is more likely the correct one.

must not shoe [show] them But many insisted and oferd money and Property to see them But for keeping them from the Peopel they persecuted and abused them [him] and they [the Smiths] were obliged to hide them, and they hid them under a Brick harth in the west Room.[18] about this time Came this Samuel Lawrance and one Beeman a grate Rodsman and wanted to talk with him and he went into the west Room and they Proposed to go shares with him and tried every way to Bargain with him But Could not. ~~the~~ then Beeman took out his Rods and hild [held] them up and they pointed Dow[n] to the harth whare they ware hid. there says Beeman[,] it is under that harth[19] So they had to garde the house until some time in November[20] he [Joseph] obtained fifty Dollars in money[21] and hired a man[22] to move him and his wife to Pensylvany to hir Fathers[,] his wife Being onwell and wanted to go to her Fathers[.] he Bout [bought] a piece of Land of hir Father with a house and Barn on it[23]—here the People Began to tease him to see the Book and to offer

---

18. A number of sources mention the plates being hidden under the Smiths' hearth (e.g., I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:67-68; III.F.10, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEW WITH JOEL TIFFANY, 1859, 166-67). Additional sources state that Alvah Beaman of Livonia, New York, was visiting the Smiths at this time and helped conceal the plates there (III.K.12, MARY A. NOBLE AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1834-1836; III.K.13, JOSEPH B. NOBLE AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1834-1836; III.K.37, ELIZABETH KANE INTERVIEW WITH BRIGHAM YOUNG, ARTEMISIA [BEAMAN] SNOW, AND ORRIN ROCKWELL, 1872-1873).

19. Dean C. Jessee writes: "Knight may have been confused on this point. ... Alvah Beman helped Joseph Smith conceal the plates" (Jessee 1976, 33, n. 12). D. Michael Quinn, on the other hand, believes that "Beman became disaffected from Joseph Smith, when the latter obtained the Book of Mormon plates in September 1827, and briefly joined with Palmyra neighbors Willard Chase and Samuel F. Lawrence who turned against the Smiths and tried to steal the gold plates" (Quinn 1987, 35).

20. Martin Harris remembered Joseph Smith leaving for Harmony about the last of October or first of November 1827 (III.F.10, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEW WITH JOEL TIFFANY, 1859, 170). Peter Ingersoll said he left in the fall (III.A.9, PETER INGERSOLL STATEMENT, 2 DEC 1827). Smith, however, said he left in December (I.A.7, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1832, 5).

21. He obtained the money from Martin Harris (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 9).

22. Evidently a reference to Alvah Hale, Smith's brother-in-law who came from Harmony to help him and Emma move (I.A.7, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1832, 5; I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:72-73).

23. See V.E.5, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY (PA) LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833.

him money and property and they Crouded so harde that he had to hide it in the Mount[a]in.

He now Began to be anxious to git them Translated he therefore with his wife Drew of[f] the Caricters exactly like the ancient[24] and sent Martin Harris[25] to see if he Could git them Translated[.] he went to Albeny and to Philadelph[i]a and to new york and he found men that Could Translate some of the Carictors in all those places Mitchel [Samuel L. Mitchill][26] and Anthony [Charles Anthon][27] of New York ware the most Larded [learned] But there were some Caricters they could not well understand therefore Anthony told him that he thot if he had the original he c[o]uld translate it and he rote a very good piece[28] to Joseph [p. 3] and said if he would send the original he would translate it But at Last Martin Harris told him that he Could not have the original for it was Commanded not to be shone. and he was mad and said what Does this mean and he tore the paper that he wrote all to pieces and stamped it under his feet and says Bring me the original or I will not translate it[.] Mr Harris seeing he was in a passion[,] he said[,] well I will go home and see, and if they Can be had I will wright to you immediately So he Came home and told how it was and they went to him no more[.][29] then was fulfild the 29th Chapter of Isiah. Now he [Joseph Smith] Bing [being] an unlearned man did not know what to Do. then the Lord gave him Power to Translate himself[.] then ware the Larned men Confounded, for he By the means he found with the plates he Could translate those Caricters Better than the Larned.[30] Now the way he translated was he put the urim and thummim into his hat and Darkned his Eyes then he would take a sentence and it would

---

24. Smith said he copied characters from the plates sometime after his arrival in Harmony in December 1827 and before Harris took them in February 1828 (see V.E.2, BOOK OF MORMON CHARACTERS, DEC 1827-FEB 1828).

25. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection."

26. On Samuel L. Mitchill (1764-1831), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 45.

27. On Charles Anthon (1797-1867), see introduction to V.D.1, CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEB 1834.

28. Hartley's reading of "price" for "piece" is an error (Hartley 1986, 32).

29. Charles Anthon said Harris called on him twice (see V.D.2, CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEB 1834; V.D.3, CHARLES ANTHON TO THOMAS WINTHROP COIT, 3 APR 1841).

30. Regarding Knight's belief that Isaiah 29:11 had been fulfilled because the learned could not read the Book of Mormon characters, see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 9, and n. 46.

apper in Brite Roman Letters then he would tell the writer and he would write it[.] then <that would go away> the next sentance would Come and so on But if it was not Spelt rite it would not go away till it was rite[,] so we see it was marvelous[.] thus was the hol [whole] translated.[31] Now when he Began to translate he was poor and was put to it for provisions and had no one to write for him But his wife and his wifes Brother would sometimes write a little for him through the winter.[32] the Next Spring oliver Cowdry[33] a young man from palmyra Came to see old Mr Smith[,][34] Josephs father[,] about this work and he sent him Down to pensylveny to see Joseph and satisfy him self[.] So he Came Down and was Soon Convinced of the truth of the work[35] [*several lines blank*][p. 4] The next Spring Came Martin Harris Down to pennsylvany to write for him and he wrote 116 pages of the first part of the book of Mormon and about this time Martin wanted to go home a Bout some Buisness and he wanted to take the writings with him But Joseph put him of[f]. But he urged him By fair promises that he would be Careful and he would Return it again But he Being free with it some person got hold of it and Cept [kept] it so that he never Could obtain it again. There fore Joseph Lost his privilige for a while. But after Repenting he again received the

---

31. Knight's description of the method of translation is inaccurate in that he claims the Urim and Thummim or the "glasses" were placed in a hat. More accurately, Smith placed his "seer stone" into his hat (see Lancaster 1990; Van Wagoner and Walker 1982). Cf. Knight's description with I.A.18, ORSON HYDE ACCOUNT, 1842, 27.

32. Emma apparently acted as scribe for her husband before Harris's arrival in April 1828 (I.F.1, EMMA SMITH BIDAMON INTERVIEW WITH EDMUND C. BRIGGS, 1856). Reuben Hale, Emma's brother, apparently also acted as a scribe (see I.F.3, EMMA SMITH BIDAMON INTERVIEW WITH JOSEPH SMITH III, FEB 1879, 2:289).

33. On Oliver Cowdery (1806-50), see "Introduction to Oliver Cowdery Collection."

34. On Joseph Smith, Sr. (1771-1840), see "Introduction to Joseph Smith, Sr., Collection."

35. Knight is mistaken about Oliver Cowdery visiting Joseph Smith in Harmony before Martin Harris came to act as scribe. Harris came to Smith in April 1828 and Cowdery came in April 1829. Later in his narrative, Knight apparently corrects this error in almost identical language: "In the spring of 1829 Oliver Cowdery a young man from Palmry went to see old Mr Smith about the Book that Joseph had found. And he told him about it and advised him to go Down to Pensylvany and see for him self and to write for Joseph. He went Down and Received a Revelation Concerning the work and he was Convinced of the truth of the work and he agreed to write for him till it was Done."

privelage of translating again, as in Book of Covenants page 163 [D&C 10:3].[36] Now he Could not translate But little Being poor and nobody to write for him But his wife and she Could not do much and take Care of her house and he Being poor and no means to live But work[.] his wifes father and familey ware all against him and would not h[e]lp him[.] he and his wife Came up to see me the first of the winter 1828 and told me his Case But I was not in easy Circumstances and I Did not know what it mite amount to and my wife and familey all against me about helping him But I let him have some little provisions and some few things out of the Store apair of shoes and three Dollars in money to help him a Litle[.][37] in January [1829] his father and Samuel [Smith][38] Came from Manchester to my house when I was Buisey a Drawing Lumber[.] I told him they had traviled far enough I would go with my sley and take them Down [to Harmony] to morrow[.] I went Down and found them well and the[y] were glad to see us[.] we conversed about many things. in the morning I gave the old man a half a Dollar and Joseph a little money to Buoy paper to translate[,] I having But little with me. The old gentlman told me to Come and see him once in a while as I Could[.] I went home followed teaming till the last of March [1829] the slaying [sleighing] Being good[.] I told my wife I must go Dow[n] and see Joseph again[.] why Do you go so soon for[,] said she[.] says I[,] Come go and see[;] and she went with me[.] next morning we went Down and found them well and ware glad to see us Joseph talked with us about his translating and some revelations he had Received and from that time my wife Began to Bel[i]eve and Continuwed a full Believer untill she Died and that was the 7 Day of August 1831 [p. 5]

in the spring of 1829 Oliver Cowdry a young man from Palmry went to see old Mr Smith about the Book that Joseph had found[;] and he told him about it and advised him to go Down to Pensylvany and see for him self and to write for Joseph[.] he went Down and Received a Revelation [D&C 6?] Concerning the work and he was Convinced of the truth of the work and he agreed to write for him till it was Done[.] Now Joseph and Oliver Came up to see me if I Could help him to some provisons [they] having no way to Buy

---

36. This is a reference to the Doctrine and Covenants (hereafter D&C), 1835 edition.

37. In 1842 Joseph Smith remarked that Knight was "among the number of the first to administer to my necessities, while I was laboring, in the commencement of the bringing forth of the work of the Lord" (I.A.20, JOSEPH SMITH REFLECTIONS, 23 AUG 1842).

38. On Samuel Harrison Smith (1808-44), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 13.

any But I was to Cattskill But when I Came home my folks told me what Joseph wanted But I had ingaged to go to Catskill again the next Day and I went again and I Bought a Barral of Mackrel and some Lined paper for writing and when I Came home I Bought some nine or ten Bushels of grain and five or six Bushels taters [potatoes] and a pound of tea and I went Down to see him and they ware in want[.] Joseph and oliver ware gone to see if they Could find a place to work for provisions But found none[.] they returned home and found me there with provisions and they ware glad for they ware out[.] their familey Consisted of four[,] Joseph and wife[,] oliver and his Brother Samuel [Smith][.][39] then they went to work and had provisions enough to Last till the translation was Done then he agreed with Martin Harris to print[.] they therefore agreed with E Grandin[40] to Print five thousand Coppies which was Printed and Bound at Palmiry in the Spring of 1830. Now in the Spring [late March] of 1830 I went with my Team and took Joseph out to Manchester to his Fathers[.] when we was on our way he told me that there must be a Church formed But did not tell when. Now when we got near to his fathers we saw a man some Eighty Rods Before us run acros the street with a Bundle in his hand. there says Joseph[,] there is martin [Harris] going a Cros the road with some thing in his hand Says I[,] how Could you know him so far[?] says he[,] I Believe it is him[;] and when we Came up it was Martin with a Bunch of morman Books[41] he Came to us and after Compliments he says the Books will not sell for no Body wants them[.] Joseph says I think they will sell[.] well Says he[,] I want a Commandment Why says Joseph[,] fullfill what you have got[.] But says he[,] I must have a Commandment. Joseph put him off But he insisted three or four times he must have a Commandment [p. 6]

We went home to his Fathers and Martin with us[.] Martin stayed at his Fathers and slept in a bed on the flor with me Martin awoke me in the nite and asked me if I felt any thing on the Bed I told him no[.] Says I[,] Did you[?] yes[, he said,] I felt some thing as Big as a grat Dog Sprang upon my Brest[.] Says I[,] Was you not mistekened[?] no says he it was so[.] I Sprang up and felt

---

39. Samuel Smith accompanied Cowdery to Harmony in early April 1829 (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:93).

40. On Egbert B. Grandin (1806-45), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 77.

41. On 19 March 1830 the *Wayne Sentinel* announced that the Book of Mormon would be ready for sale "in the course of next week" (III.E.1, *WAYNE SENTINEL,* 1824-1836, under 19 March 1830). On 26 March the *Sentinel* reported that it was on sale at its first-floor bookstore (III.E.1, *WAYNE SENTINEL,* 1824-1836, under 26 March 1830)

But I Could see nor feal no thing. in the morning he got up and said he must have a Commandment to Joseph and went home. and along in the after part of the Day Joseph and oliver Received a Commandment which is in Book of Covenants Page 174 [D&C 19.][42] I stayd a few Days wating for some Books to Be Bound[.] Joseph said there must Be a Church Biltup [built up][.] I had Ben there several Days[.] old Mr Smith and Martin Harris Come forrod [forward] to Be Babtise[d] for the first[.] they found a place in a Lot a small Stream ran thro and they ware Babtized in the Evening Because of persecution[.] they went forward and was Babtized Being the first I saw Babtized in the new and everlasting Covenant[43] I had some thots to go forrod [forward] But I had not re[a]d the Book of morman and I wanted to exeman [examine] a Little more I Being a Restorationar[44] and had not examined so much as I wanted to But I should a felt Better if I had a gone forward But I went home and was Babtised in June with my wife and familey.[45] there was one thing I will mention that evening that old Brother Smith and Martin Harris was Babtised Joseph was fild with the Spirrit to a grate Degree to see his Father and Mr Harris that he had Bin with so much [and] he Bust out with greaf and Joy and Seamed as tho the world Could not hold him[.] he went out into the Lot and appeard to want to git out of site of every Body and would sob and Crie and Seamed to Be so full that he could not live[.] oliver and I went after him and Came to him and after a while he Came in But he was the most wrot upon that I ever saw any man But his joy seemed to Be full[.] I think he saw the grate work he had Begun and was Desirus to Carry it out.[46] on the sixth Day of April <1830> he Begun the Church with six members and received

---

42. This is a reference to the 1835 D&C. This revelation is dated March 1830.

43. Knight's account is consistent with numerous sources naming Manchester as the location of the church's organization (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 82). According to the Book of Commandments, Joseph Smith dictated a revelation to Knight on 6 April 1830 in Manchester (chap. XXI; cf. D&C 23:6-7). Knight's memory that the baptisms took place on the "evening" of 6 April 1830 is supported by a note in Smith's History Draft which reads: "Father Smith[,] Martin Harris baptized this evening 6th April. [p. 9] Mother Smith & Sister [Sarah] Rockwell 2 or 3 days afterward [p. 10]."

44. Restorationists were Universalists who believed that the wicked would be punished for a season then "restored" to "holiness and happiness" in heaven.

45. This occurred on 28 June 1830 in Colesville, New York (I.A. 15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:114).

46. Lucy Smith also described Joseph Jr.'s emotional display at his father's baptism (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:114).

the following Revelation Book of Covenants Page 177 [D&C 21.][47] they all kneeld down and prayed and Joseph gave them instructions how to Bild up the Church and exorted them to Be faithfull in all things for this is the work of God [p. 7]

Now after he had set things in order and got a number of mormon Books we Returned home. then in June as I Before said I and my familey and a number more ware Babtised[,] Joseph Being present and Confirmed them.[48] and through that season there ware many Babtised in many places and the Church grew and multiplied But soon after the Church Began to gro[w] the People Began to Be angry and to persecute and Cald them fools and said they ware Decived. But along toards fall [1830] Joseph and Oliver cowdray and David Whitmore [Whitmer][49] and John Whitmore[50] Came from harmony in Pennsylvany to my house on some Buisness. and some of the Vagabonds found they ware there and they made a Catspaw of a young fellow By the name of Docter Benton[51] in Chenengo County to sware out a warrent against Joseph for as they said pertending to see under ground[,] a little Clause they found in the york Laws against such things[.][52] the oficer

---

47. The page number refers to the 1835 D&C.

48. Newel Knight was first baptized during the last week of May 1830 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 41; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 50). Joseph and Polly Knight, their children Joseph Jr. and Polly, their daughter-in-law Sally, wife of Newel Knight, and others were baptized on 28 June 1830 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 43; cf. IV.E.3, SALLY KNIGHT OBITUARY, 1834; Porter 1971, 202-203). However, confirmations in Colesville probably did not occur until September 1830 (see I.A.3, JOSEPH SMITH TO COLESVILLE SAINTS, 28 AUG 1830).

49. On David Whitmer (1805-88), see "Introduction to David Whitmer Collection."

50. On John Whitmer (1802-78), see "Introduction to John Whitmer Collection."

51. Believed to be Abram W. Benton (1805-67), a physician who lived in South Bainbridge (now Afton) (Jessee 1989, 473). Cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 48. On Abram W. Benton, see introduction to IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831.

52. He was charged with being a "disorderly person," which New York law defined as "all jugglers [i.e., conjurors], and all persons pretending to have skill in physiognomy, palmistry, or like crafty science, or pretending to tell fortunes, or to discover where lost goods may be found" (*Laws of the State of New York, Revised,* 1813, 1:114, sec. I; Walters 1977, 124 n. 8; Quinn 1987, 24; Madsen 1990, 93).

Came to my house near knite [night] and took him[53] I harnesed my horses and we all went up to the villige But it was so late they Could not try him that nite and it was put of[f] till morning[.] I asked Joseph if [he] wanted Counsell he said he thot he should. I went that nite and saw Mr James Davison [Davidson,][54] a man I was acquainted with. The next morning [1 July 1830] ther[e] gatherd a multitude of peopel that ware against him Mr Davidson said it looked like a squaley [squally] Day[.] he thot we had Better have John Read [Reed][55] a prety good speaker near by[.] I told him we would[,] so I imployed them Both.[56] So after a trial all Day Jest at nite he was Dismissed then there was a nother oficer was Ridy [ready] and took him on the same Case Down to Broom County Below forth with. I hired Boath these Lawyers and took them Down home with me that nite[.] the next Day [2 July] ~~we~~ it Continued all Day till midnite But they Could find no thing against him therefore he was Dismist.[57] Soon after this Joseph Left the Susquehannah river and went to Manchester to his Fathers[58] then about the first staing

---

53. He was evidently arrested on Wednesday, 30 June 1830, spent the night in custody, and was tried the following day, 1 July, in South Bainbridge before Justice Joseph Chamberlin (IV.F.4, JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JUL 1830).

54. On James Davidson (1779-1847), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 146.

55. On John Reed (1784-1878), see introduction to IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844.

56. For other accounts of this trial, which occurred on 1 July 1830 before Justice Joseph Chamberlin of South Bainbridge, see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 44-45; I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:Frag. 6, 1853:157; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 55-56; IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844; IV.D.1, JOHN S. REED TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, 6 DEC 1861; IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843; and IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831.

57. For other accounts of this trial which occurred on 2 July 1830 before Justice Joel K. Noble of Colesville, see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 45-47; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 58-61; IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831; IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 2, 3; IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844; and IV.D.1, JOHN S. REED TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, 6 DEC 1861.

58. After his trials in South Bainbridge and Colesville, Joseph Smith returned to Harmony, Pennsylvania. In September 1830, Newel Knight said he transported Smith to the Whitmer residence in Fayette, New York (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 52-53). From Fayette, Smith visited Man-

[thing?] Sidney Rigdin[59] Came from ohio to see Joseph and they Boath Came Down to Broom County and Joseph and Sidney went Down to harmoney to settle some Buisness[60] and the Mob found they ware gone and they found when they ware expected Back and we found they had a plan laid to take Joseph and Sidney and me[.] now Sidney had Ben at my house several Days and had preached there several times and he was too smart for them therefore they wanted to trouble him and the Day we expected them ~~I~~ I sent my son [Newel?] Down to meat them and told them of their Plan [p. 8] and they turned acrost to Chenango point [Binghamton]—and so went to the Lakes[61] and I Looked up what I Could Cary and went away that nite for the Lakes[.] I also took my wife[62] and Daughter[63] for we war[e] calcalating to go soon for we a litle Before had a revelation to go to ohio.[64] So the Mob watched all nite at the Bridge. But Behold we all Came up missing and the poor mob Lost all their tr[o]uble. Now Joseph and I went rite on to Kirtland ohio But did not stay long there for in March we went to the town of ~~Thomps~~ Thompson a bout twenty miles and in the spring the Colesvill Church all Came on But Joseph remaind in Kirtland and Sidney soon Came to Kirtland. ...

---

chester in early October 1830, remaining a few weeks before returning to Fayette (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, 1853:159, 166-67).

59. On Sidney Rigdon (1793-1876), see introduction to I.A.13, SIDNEY RIGDON ACCOUNT, CIRCA 1836.

60. Sidney Rigdon came to Fayette from Ohio about 7 December 1830. Shortly after, Smith and Rigdon visited Colesville for several days (IV.D.7, EMILY [COLBURN] AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 37-38; IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880).

61. Probably a reference to the Finger Lakes, the region where Fayette and Waterloo were located.

62. Polly (Peck) Knight (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 134).

63. Probably Elizabeth Knight (Porter 1990, 3).

64. D&C 37, dictated in December 1830.

2.
NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846

Newel Knight Journal [A & B], Circa 1846, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah; Newel Knight Journal [C], Circa 1846, private possession.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Newel Knight, son of Joseph and Polly (Peck) Knight, was born on 13 September 1800 at Marlborough, Windham County, Vermont. He moved with his family to South Bainbridge, New York, in 1809, then to Colesville in 1811. He married Sally Colburn (sister of Emily Colburn Austin) on 7 June 1825. Knight was a "staunch Universalist," but his wife was a Presbyterian (IV.D.7, EMILY [COLBURN] AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 30).

He probably met Joseph Smith in late 1826 when Smith came to Colesville to work for Knight's father. Later, after Smith organized the church, Newel was the first of his family to be baptized, about the last week of May 1830. At a church conference in Fayette, New York, on 26 September 1830, Newel was ordained a priest. On 9 March 1831 he sold sixty acres of land and the following May moved to Ohio. After a brief residence, he and the entire former Colesville branch moved to Jackson County, Missouri, where Knight was subsequently ordained a high priest. After the Mormons were expelled from Jackson County in the summer of 1833, Newel located in Clay County, where his wife Sally died on 15 September 1834. Between spring 1835 and April 1836, he resided in Kirtland, Ohio, and married Lydia Goldthwaite on 24 November 1835. In 1839 he moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, where he served on the high council until 1845. He died in Knox County, Nebraska, on 11 January 1847 during the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo (L. Cook 1981, 78-79; Hartley 1986, 66).

What is known as the "Newel Knight Journal" is a number of documents divided among eight folders in the LDS archives. The bulk of the journal consists of two versions of the same material, the remainder being various fragments (see Bitton 1977, 199). The term "journal" is misleading since Knight's account is largely retrospective and relies heavily on Joseph Smith's published history. The LDS Historical Department has labeled the two versions: "Autobiography and Journal, c. 1846" and "Autobiography and Journal, c. 1846-1847."

William G. Hartley, who worked with the original documents, describes them as follows: "The collection includes two versions of the same materials, one being the original and one being a rewriting that deletes a few statements from the original and that inserts an occasional bit of information from a non-family source. Both of these versions are voluminous, and provide much more information than does the Newel Knight history published in *Scraps of Biography*" (Hartley 1986, 219).

The first version, according to archivists, contains an account of Knight's early life and experience in New York, Missouri, Ohio, and Illinois, including daily entries of his emigration west in 1846 and experiences in the George Miller company that wintered near the Ponca Indian settlements. The daily entries are not original but have been copied into this work. Interjected into his early recollections are selections from the History of Joseph Smith as it was published in the *Times and Seasons* in Nauvoo, Illinois (selections published in 1842 and 1843). This narrative, believed to be in the handwriting of Newel Knight, is a draft work written on several different kinds of paper and in several inks, probably written no earlier than 1845-46.

The second version, according to archivists, may not be a direct copy of the above described document but may have a common source. While the former version is larger and more detailed, there are instances where the second version is more expanded. This document also contains entries for January 1847, which the first does not have.

There is a third version in possession of Knight family members. This is written on small pages and may be the source for the two other versions. The dating of this small journal is uncertain.

[*Journal A: Item 1*]

I Newel Knight was born Sept 13th 1800 <at> Marlborough[,] Windham County, Vermont. My fathers name was Joseph Knight[1] born [*blank space*] My mothers Maiden name was Polly Peck[2] born April 16th 1774. My Father moved into the State of New York when I was nine years of age and settled on the Sus=quhan<n>~~ah~~ river near the bend in Chenango County, Town of Bainbridge & Stayed there two years. <He> Then moved <down> the riv=er ~~nine~~ <Six> miles into Broom County town of Coalsville and there remain[e]d nineteen years.

---

1. On Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772-1847), see introduction to IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847.

2. On Polly Peck Knight (1774-1831), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 134.

My Father owned a farm, a gristmill and Carding ma=chine, he was not rich yet possessed enough of this worl<ds>, ~~ds ds~~ <goods> to secure to him Self and family <not only> the necessaries ~~and~~ <but above the> Comforts of life. his family Consisted of ~~himself~~ my Mother three sons and four Daughters viz

Naaum[3] born [*blank*]
Esther[4]
Newel
Anna[5]
Josep[h][6]
Polly[7]
and Betsey[8]

He raised his family in a genteel and respectable man=ner <and> ~~he only~~ gave them a <good> common S[c]hool education

My Father was a Sober, honest man, generally beloved and respected by his neighbors and acquaintances

I do not know that any thing special occured ~~more than is common to all families <in general>~~ during our Childhood with our parents. My Father did not belong to any sect but was a believer in the Univers~~alen~~<salian> doctrine

~~Oweing to~~ the business my Father was engaged in ~~he~~ often ~~had~~ <required him to have> hired help. among the many he from time to time ~~hired~~ <employed> wa<s> a young man by the name of Joseph Smith Jun. to him I

---

3. Nahum Knight, son of Joseph and Polly Knight, was born in 1796. He was baptized on an unknown date (Hartley 1986, 52).

4. On Esther Knight Stringham (1798-1831), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 136.

5. Anna Knight DeMill's (1804-?) baptism date is uncertain. While some have dated it 28 or 29 June 1830 when other Knight family members were baptized in Colesville (see Porter 1971, 203), it is also possible that she was baptized at the same time as her husband, Freeborn DeMill, on 6 or 26 September 1830 by Hyrum Smith (ibid., 205).

6. On Joseph Knight, Jr. (1808-66), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 137.

7. On Polly Knight (1811-44), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 141.

8. Elizabeth (Betsy) Knight (1817-83) was born in Colesville, New York. She was baptized there by Hyrum Smith on 1 November 1830. She died in Salt Lake City (*Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 26 [October 1935]: 150; Porter 1971, 206; Hartley 1986, 8, 67).

was particu[l]arly attached; his noble deportment his faithfulness [and] his kind address could not fail to [p. 1] ~~gain~~ <win> the esteem of those who had the pleasure of his acqua[i]ntance. One thing in particular I will mention <which> seemed to be <a> peculiar Characteristic with him in all his boyish sports ~~or~~ <and> amusements. I never knew any one to gain advantage over him and yet he was allways kind and kept the good will of his playmates.

I continued to live with my Father until I was twenty five years of age or nearly so June 7th 1825 I married a respect=able young lady by the name of Sally Coburn[9] <born 1804> her health was rath=er delicate. She had long held an honorable position in the choir of the most respectable Churches in that vicinity; Her Father was a great musician Spent much of his time from <home>, ~~<tune>ing~~ tuneing peanoes &c. which ~~throwed~~ <threw> a heavy burthen upon her Mother in raiseing her family, ~~which~~ <this however> she bore with much patience

On leaving my Father I went a few miles distant and put in operation a Carding machine, ~~which I~~ <but I soon> sold <it>, and after wards engaged in a grist mill. During this time Sally, my wife, gave birth to a child which did not live, her sufferings were verry great. I found my health was gradually de=clineing, ~~I~~ <and> was advised to leave the mill as it did not agree wit[h] my Constitution to work in it. I had no taste for farmeing So I ~~persisted~~ <continued> in the mill business untill the physician told me I was in a consumption and he thought my Case doubtful. I applied to a Skillful Indian doctor ~~with him I found~~ <from whom I obtained some> relief but was obliged to ~~chan~~ change my business <and> I moved back to Coalsville near my Father's <and I again entered into business>.

My oldest Brother Naaum was married and lived near by[.] allso my Sisters Esther and Anna <with> their husbands Will=iam Stringham[10] and Freeborn Demill.[11]

Peace prosperity and plenty now seemed to crown our labors; indeed

---

9. On Sarah ("Sally") Colburn Knight (1804-34), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 164.

10. On William Stringham (1788-1865), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 135.

11. Freeborn DeMill (1795-1881) was born at Plattskill, Ulster County, New York. On 11 March 1819 he married Anna Knight in Colesville, New York. He was baptized by Hyrum Smith in September 1830 and confirmed by Joseph Smith. He moved with the Colesville branch to Missouri in 1831. Later he emigrated west, arriving at Mt. Pisgah in May 1846. He died in Salt Lake City, Utah (*Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 26 [October 1935]: 149; Family Group Record, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah; Porter 1971, 205).

we were a happy family and my Father rejoiced in ~~his family Circle~~ <hav[in]g his children around him>.

But to return to my young friend Joseph Smith Jun it is evident great things are a bout to transpire [p. 2] that the Lord is about to do a marvellous work and a wonder[,] that Joseph is to be <an> instrument in his hands to bring about this great and mighty work of the last days

I will here coppy from the ~~from the~~ private journal of the above mentioned Joseph Smith[.] In as it will give the read=er a correct knowledge of the comencement of the restoration of the true and everlasting gospel to man <in> these last days[:] "I was born in the year of <our> Lord one thousand eight hundred and five on the twenty third day of December in the town of Sha=ron[,] Windsor County[,] Vermont. My Father left the state of Vermont, and moved <to> Palmyra[,] Ontario (now Wayne) County in the State of New York when I was in my tenth year In about four years <after> ~~my Father moved~~ after <his arrival at Palmyra he moved with his family into Manchester in the same County Ontario."

Times & Seasons [vol. 3] 727—753—777 [771]

<In settling up my business affairs, ~~and [———]~~ <I [—-]> ~~by~~ sickness I had had in my family>

Having Settled my affairs to the best advantage I could I again commenced business yet not without considerable loss which with the Sickness we had suffered ~~the loss of health~~ <and other expenses attending it> ~~I was~~ reduced ~~in~~ my picuneary affairs considerably. yet not discor=aged for all <my labor> ~~I did~~ seemed to prosper in my hands. I was happy in the Society ~~not only in the Society of~~ <of my friends which consisted not only of> my Fathers imediate family but but of my uncles aunt and cousins <who> lived in the vicinity ~~so that I felt all cheed was cheered by the Society of my kindred~~

during this time we were occasionly visited by our young friend Joseph <of whom I have previously spoken> and heard him relate ~~the~~ <many wonderful> things <which ~~transpired [about?]~~ happened to him. But we will let him tell his own story as it is [endent?]> So honest and plain was ~~he in~~ all his Statements that there was no room for any missgiveings with me on the subject in fact there was no place for any[,] besides I found by reading and Searching the bible that there would be a great falling away from the gospel as preached and established by Jesus and ~~the~~ his apostles that [p. 3] the last days God would set his hand again to restore that which was lost then why should any <one> persecute this boy I could not. yet to my certain knowledge many did, those who professed to be preachers of the gospel were often his vileest persecuters and notwithstanding they all professed to doubt the reality of his haveing the plates of which he has Spoken yet So eager were they to get them from him that it was only by the Lord or a kind angel warning <to>

him from time to time of the pursuit of of his enemies that he was enabl[e]d to preserve those sa=cred records in fact it seems verry like as it was with Joseph and Mary the mother of Jesus being warned of God they fled from place to place to save the you<n>g Child so has Joseph Smith been warned and many times barely escaped his pursuers of this I can bear a faithful testimony and could relate many particulars but for brevity will for bear. During this time my wife gave birth to another child yet not a living one[.] her Sufferings were verry extreme here[,] life being nearly dispaired of by the skillful physician who said it would not be possible for her to ever give birth to a living Child.

Joseph percevered and the Lord raised up friends who aided him in the great work of translateing and printing the reccord which those sacred plates contain[e]d[,] as a part of them[,] for a part was sealed to come forth in a future time. The title of this book is the Book of Mormon.

On the Sixth day of April one thousand eight hun=dred and thirty by revelation and commandment from God a Church was organized Called the Church of Jesus Christ of latter day Saints it was organized with Six members

Persecution now raged[.] ev[e]rry Craft felt that they were in dan=ger and resorted to everry Stratagem possible to Stop the progress of the work of god. That my Children and future gener<ation[s]> may know what we had to meet. I will again Copy from[12]

[*Journal A: Item 2*]

[...][13] man for whom Joseph formerly worked) he was examined as follows[.] q[uestion:] Did not the pris<o>ner Joseph Smith have a horse of you. Ans[wer:] yes, q[uestion:] Did ~~not he~~ <he not> go to you and tell you ~~that~~ an an=gel had appeared unto him <and told him> to get the horse from you; Ans[wer:] No he told me no such thing. q[uestion:] Well; how did he [get] the horse of you[.] Ans[wer]. He bought he bought him of me as another man would do[.] q[uestion:] Have you had your pay? Ans[wer:] That is not your business—The question being put again the witness replied[:] I hold his note for the price of the horse which I consider as good as for <the money> I am well acquainted with Joseph Smith Jr and know him him to be ~~an~~ honest and if he wishes I am ready to let him have another horse on the same terms.

---

12. The text abruptly ends. Cf. IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 46-49.

13. The first part is missing; this page is identified as page 7. For missing material, see IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 49-56.

Mr Jonathan Thompson[14] was next Called and ex=amined. q[uestion:] Has not the prisoner Joseph Smith Jr had a yoke of oxen of you? Ans[wer:] yes[.] q[uestion:] Did he not obtain them from you by telling you that he had a revelation to the effect that he was to have them? No he did not mention ~~any such thing~~ a word of the kind concerning the oxen[.] he purchased them the Same as an oth=er man would. After Several mor<e> similar attempts the Court was detain[e]d for a time in order that two young ladies (Daughters of Josiah Stowel) with whom Joseph had at times kept Company: might be sent for, in or=der if possible to elicit something from them which might be made a pretext against Josep[h]. The young ladies arrived and were Severrally examined touching ~~my~~ his[15] Character and Conduct in general but in particular as to ~~my~~ <his> behaviour to wards them both in public and in private[,] when they both bore such testimony [p. 7] in Josephs favor as left his enemies without a pretext ~~aga[inst]~~ on their account. Several attempts were made to prove something against Joseph and even Circumstances which were alleged to have taken place in Broom County were brought forward; but these Josephs lawyer would not ~~here~~ ad=mit of against him, in Consequence of which, his persecutors managed to detain the Court, until they had ~~managed to~~ succeeded in obtaining a warrant from Broom County. Which warrant they served upon him at the verry momen<t>=~~t~~ <in> which he had been acquitted by this Court

The ~~second~~ Constable who served this second warrant upon him had no sooner arrested him than he began to abuse him and so unfeeling was he that although Joseph had been kept all day in court without anything to eat Since the morning, that he hurried off to Broom County a distance of a bout fifteen miles, before allowing him any thing to eat ~~whatever~~. The Constable took him to a tavern where <were> gathered in a number of men who ~~use~~ used everry means <to> abuse ridicule and insult him They Spit upon him pointed their fingers at him say=ing prophesy, p<ro>phesy: and thus did they imitate t[h]ose who [c]rucified the Savior of mankind, not knowing what they did This tavern was but a short distance from Josephs own house; he wished to spend the night with his wife offering to give any bail wished for, for his ap=pearance, but this was denied him. He applied for some thing to eat—The constable ordered him some crusts of bread and water which was the only fare he that night received. At length he retired to bed; the ~~con~~

14. On Jonathan Thompson (1787-?), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 149.

15. "His" written over "my." This kind of change is important because it shows how closely Knight followed Joseph Smith's published history. See *Times and Seasons* 4 (15 December 1842): 40-41; and 4 (2 January 1843): 61.

constable made him lie next to the wall: He then laid [p. 8] ~~in Josephs favor as left his enemies without a pretext on their account.~~

he then laid him self down by ~~me~~ <him>, and put his arm <fast> around him[16] ~~fast~~ fearing that he[17] intended to escape from him and in this (not verry agreeable) manner was he Compelled to spend the night. Next day he was brought before the ~~Court~~ Magestrates Court, of ~~Broom~~ Colesville, Broom County, and put upon his trial. his former friends and lawyers were again at his side; his former persecutors were ~~allso~~ arrayed against him with the fury and rage of demons Stamped upon their Countenances, and in their actions. Many witnesses were again called forward and exam=ined, Some of whom Swore to the most palpabl[e] falsehoods, and like to the false witness which had [a]ppeared again=st him the <previous> day ~~previous~~ they contradicted themselves so plainly that the Court would not admit their testimony. Others were called who showed by their zeal that they were willing enough to prove something against me <him>, but all they could do was to tell Some things they had heard some body else say about him[18]. In this frivulous and vexatious manne<r> did they proceed for a conciderabl[e] time, when finally, I was Called upon and examined, by lawyer Seymo<u>r,[19] who had been especially sent for on this occasion. One lawyer Burch[20] allso was on the side of the prosecution; but Mr Sey=mour Seemed to be a more zealous Presbyterian and ap=peared verry anxious and determined that people should not be deluded <by> one professing ~~the power of~~ Godliness and ~~not denying the~~ denying the power thereof.

Soon as I had been sworn, Mr Seymour proceeded to interrogate me as follows[.] q[uestion:] Did the prisoner Joseph [p. 9] Smith Junior cast the devil out of you. Ans[wer:] ~~yes Sir~~ no Sir[.] q[uestion:] Why have <you> not ~~you~~ had the devil cast out of you? Ans[wer:] yes Sir. q[uestion:] And had not Joseph Smith Some hand in its being done? A[nswer:] yes sir. Q[uestion:] And did <he> not ~~he~~ cast him out of you? No Sir: it was done by the power of God, and Joseph Smith was the instrument in the hands of God on this occasion. He commanded him to come out of me in the name of Jesus Christ. q[uestion:] And are you sure <that> it was the devil[?] A[nswer:] yes sir. q[uestion:] Did you See him after he was cast out of you[?] A[nswer:] yes sir I saw him. q[uestion:] Pray what did he look like? (Here one of the lawyers on

16. "Him" written over "me."

17. "He" written over "I."

18. "Him" written over "he."

19. On William Seymour (1780–1848), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 155.

20. This person remains unidentified.

the part of the defendant tol[d] me that I need not answer that question) I replied I believe I need not answer your last question but I will do it if I ~~be~~ <am> allowed to ask you one question first and you <can> an=swer it viz. Do you Mr Seymour understand the things of the Spirit? No (answered answered Mr Seymour) I do not pretend to Such big things. Well then I replied it will be of no use to tell you what the devil looked like, for it was a Spiritual Sight, and Spiritually discerned; and of course you would not understand it, were I to tell you of it. The law[y]er drop[p]ed his head, whilst the loud laugh of the audience proclaimed his discomfieture. Mr Seymour. now addressed the Court and in a long and violent har[r]angue endeavored to blacked the[21] Character of <Joseph> and bring him[22] in guilty of the Charges which had been brought against him[23]. Mr Davidson an[d] Mr Reed followed on Joseph['s] behalf. they held forth in true colors, the na[ture][24]

[*Journal C*][25]

I will here copy a revelation given to Joseph in June 1830 as it was a great strength and satisfaction to us to [p. 92] know that the Lord again speaks to man on the earth and reveals that which has been lost, for truly he did, from time to time, give us line upon line, here a little and there a little, insomuch that we did lift up our hearts and rejoice in the midst of all our enemies. [p. 93][Moses 1; pp. 94-110]

I will here mention that the night previous to the second visit of our these brethren, my wife had a dream in which it was made plain to her that they would be with us the following day, and as it really came to pass our faith was strengthened in the belief that dreams and visions would be given in the last days in fulfillment of the predictions of the Prophet Joel. And although they were this time compelled to again find safety from their enemies, by flight, yet [p. 111] we felt confident that we would eventually come off victorious if we only continued faithful to him who had called us from darkness to light to enjoy the everlasting Gospel of his son, Jesus Christ.

As might be expected, after the flight of our brethren, with their ene-

---

21. "The" written over "his."

22. "Him" written over "me."

23. "Him" written over "me."

24. The text abruptly ends. Cf. IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 56-60.

25. The missing portion of Knight's Journal A likely included the following material found in Journal C, presently in private hands. I have only had access to a typescript of the original. Cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 48-50.

mies in close pursuit, we felt very anxious about them and hoped that they would soon be able to visit us again and confirm those who had been baptized. [p. 112]

At this time the following Revelation was given to Joseph Jr, Oliver Cowdery and John Whitmer at Harmony[,] Penn. [D&C 26; pp. 113-14] ...

[*Journal A: Item 3*]

[...][26] the everlasting gospel. ~~of the Son of God.~~

The following is a correct coppy of a revelation given to Joseph Smith Jr Oliver Cowdry[27] and John Whitmer[28] given through Joseph Smith Jr at Harmony Penn 1830 [D&C 26]

To read the above was a great Consolation to the little band of Brethren and Sisters at Coalesville after haveing been abandoned from time to time by the Servants of God in consequence of the wicked who were constantly seeking to destroy the work of God from the earth. It showed us that the Lord took cognizance of us and allso that he knew of the acts of the wicked So we resolved to Continue steadfast in the faith and were diligent in our prayers and in assem=bling ourselves to gather waiting with patience until we Should have the pleasure of again seeing Brother Joseph and others of the Servants of the Lord who had become ~~near~~ <dear> to us by the ties of the gospel, and of being con=firmed members of the Church of Jesus Christ <of latte=r-day Saints> by the laying on of hand[s] of the Apostles according to the pattern which had been given to us

In the forepart of the month of Aug I in Company with my wife went to make a visit to Brother Joseph Smiths who then resided at Harmony Penn. I found him and his wif[e] well and in good spirits We had a happy meeting It truely gave me joy to again behold his face. as neither Sister Emma Smith[29] <the wife of Joseph Smith> nor my wife [Sally Knight] had been confirmed we Concluded to attend to Confirming them at this time, and allso to partake of the Sacrement [p. 19] before we Should leave for home. In order to prepare for this Brother Joseph Set out ~~to go~~ to procure Some wine for the occasion but he had gone only a Short distance, when he was met by a heavenly

---

26. First part missing. For missing material, see IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 60-62.

27. On Oliver Cowdery (1806-50), see "Introduction to Oliver Cowdery Collection."

28. On John Whitmer (1802-78), see "Introduction to John Whitmer Collection."

29. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

messenger, and received the following revelation. The first para=graph of which was written at this time and the re=mainder in the Sept following

Revelation given at Harmony Penn Aug 1830[30]

Page 117 Times and Seasons [vol. 4][D&C 27]

In obedience to the above we prepared Some wine at our own make, and held our meeting, consisting of only five persons viz ~~myself~~ <Joseph Smith> and wife, John Whitmer my self and wife. We partook of the Sacrament, after which we confirmed ~~these~~ two Sisters into the Church, and spent the evening in a glorious man[n]er. The Spirit of the Lord was poured out upon us. we praised the God of Israel, and rejoiced exceedingly. About this time a spirit of persecution began to be manifest itself against us in the ~~place~~ neighborhood where Joseph ~~now~~ lived which was commenced by a man of the Methodist pursua=sion who professed to be a minister of God ~~and whose name was~~ [*blank space*] And So Crafty was he that he Seceeded in tu=rning Mr Hale[,][31] Fatherinlaw to Joseph[,] that he no longer woul[d] give protection to him although he had promised to do so.

Towards the last of Aug[32] Brother's Joseph ~~Smith Jr in Company with his Brother~~ Hyrum[,][33] Joseph Jr[,] John and David Whitmore[34] Came to our place to visit us and to hold meet=ing and Confirm thos[e] who had been baptized in June previous[.] The following is a statement[,] given by those Brethren at the time they were at my house[,] that as they well knew the hostilities of our enemies in this quarter and allso knowing it was the<ir> duty to visit us, they called upon their heavenly Father in mighty prayer that he would grant them an opportunity of meeting with us, that he would blind

---

30. The Book of Commandments gives 4 September 1830 for this revelation.

31. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

32. The events of late August and early September 1830 are out of sequence in Journal A. At this point, Journal C inserts Joseph Smith's letter of 28 August, mentioned below, with the following introduction: "Bro. Joseph intended visiting the Saints at Colesville on Saturday the 21 Aug. and on my return, arrangements were made for the brethren and sisters to meet on that day, if possible, without letting our [p. 127] enemies know anything about it. But Bro. Joseph was prevented from keeping his engagement on this occasion, but wrote a letter ..." (see I.A.3, JOSEPH SMITH TO COLESVILLE SAINTS, 28 AUG 1830).

33. On Hyrum Smith (1800-44), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 12.

34. On David Whitmer (1805-88), see "Introduction to David Whitmer Collection."

the eyes of their enemies and that they might on this occasion return unmolested. Their prayers were not [p. 20] in vain ~~on this occasion~~ A little distance before reaching my place they encountered a large Company of men at work upon a public road, amongst whom were some of our most bitter enemies Who looked earnestly at them, but not know=ing them, they <allowed them to> pass~~ed~~ on unmolested

That evening the Saints assembled to gather ~~and~~ and were Confirmed and partook of the Sacrament and had a happy meeting haveing much reason to rejoice in the God of our Salvation and Sing hosanna to his ho=ly name.

Next morning they set out on their return home. and although their enemies had off[e]red a reward to any one who would ~~who would~~ give information of their arrival at our place, ~~yet did~~ they got clear out of the neighborhood without the least annoyance, and arrived at home in safety However it was not long after the Brethren had left us when the rumor got out that they had been here when the mob began to collect to gather and threaten and abuse us in a most Shameful and disgusting manner dureing the remainder of the day. Soon after this I took my team and waggon and went to Harmony Penn to move Joseph and family ~~and~~ to Fayette NY. Mr Whitmer haveing heard of the perse=cutions which had been got up against Joseph in Harmony Penn. had invited him to go and live with him About the last of Aug Joseph arrived at Fayette admidst the joy and congratulations of friends and brethren

I returned home to my family found them well and rejoiceing in in the new and everlasting gospel Commited again to man on th[e] earth. Mean time the elders had been faithful in travel=ing and preaching the gospel and ma[n]y had believed and embraced the truth. The book of Mormon was a powerful weapon in the hands of the Saint[s]. Quite a number had embraced the ~~gospel~~ <work> who bid fair to become verry useful in promelgat=ting the ~~great work of~~ <Gospel> [of] the Lord <Jesus Christ> I will here Copy a letter received from Joseph Smith Jr. and John Whitmer

Harmony Aug 28. 1830

Dearly beloved in the Lord

We are under the necessity [p. 21][35]

The letters mentioned in the above were on this occasion[:] one of the greatest preists of the day began a tyrade of abuse which resulted in a cores-

35. There are apparently no pages missing; evidently Knight decided not to copy the letters. See I.A.3, JOSEPH SMITH TO COLESVILLE SAINTS, 28 AUG 1830; and I.A.5, JOSEPH SMITH TO COLESVILLE SAINTS, 2 DEC 1830.

pondence betwe[e]n him and my sister Polly in which he got so used up that he was glad to give us and back [o]ut completely whipt ~~out~~[.] as to the things which perta[i]ned to our bu[i]sness affairs we had been enabled to manage so that we had suffered no material loss—were still able to live and aid the work of the Lord when necessary

After arrangeing my affairs at home I again Set out for Fayette to atend our Second Conference Which was to be held at Father Whitmores,[36] where Joseph Smith J[r] now lived. After my arrival I found Brother Joseph in great trouble ~~about~~ of mind on ~~the~~ account of Hyrum Page[37] who had managed to bring Some dissension of feeling among ~~Some of~~ the Brethren by pretending to rev=elations <~~which he had got~~ through a stone> which were in contrad[i]ction to <t>he new tes=tament and allso to the revelations of God to us in these last days However after much labor and prayer they were convinced of their error and con=fessed the Same and renounced it be-<l[i]e[v]>ing it was not of God but that Satan had conspired to overthrow their belief in the true plan of Salvation. In consequence of these things Brother Joseph enqui=red of the Lord before our conference commenced and rece[i]ved the following:

Revelation to Oliver Cowdry given at Fayette NY September. 1830 Times and Seasons [vol. 4] page 119 [D&C 28]

The same date the following was received

Times and Seasons [vol. 4] page 130 [D&C 29]

The time haveing arrived Conference assembled[,] the subject of the Stone in connection with Hyram Page was brought up and discussed and after consider=able investigation Brother page ~~as well~~ as well as the whole Church who were present renounced the Said Stone and all things connected with it much to our satis=faction and happiness.

We now partook of the Sacrament[,] Confirmed and ordained a goodly number and attended to a [g]reat [p. 22] variety of business ~~on that and the following day~~ during which time we had much of the power of God manifest among us and it was wonderful to witness the wisdom that Joseph [—] <displayed> on the occasion for truly God ~~did~~ gave unto him great wisdom and power <and it seems to me even now that none who saw him administer righteousness to all under such circumstances, could doubt that the Lord was with him for he acted with the wisdom of God> and the holy ghost came upon us, and filled us with joy unspeakable; ~~and and & faith & hope &~~

---

36. On Peter Whitmer, Sr. (1773-1854), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 59.

37. On Hiram Page (1800-52), see introduction to VI.C.1, HIRAM PAGE TO WILLIAM MCLELLIN, 30 MAY 1847.

~~Charity abounded in our midst~~ before we separated the following revelation was given[.] Revelation [for] David Whitmer, Peter Whitmer[38] and John Whitmer given Sept 1830

Allso Revelation [for] Thomas B Marsh[39] on the same occas<ion>. The Conference lasted three days during which time great harmony prevailed and the Saints present all manifested a determination to go forward and do all in their power for the Spread of the great and glorious principles of truth which had been revealed by our heavenly Father A number were baptized during the conference and the work of the Lord Spread and prevailed

Conference was dismissed with the benediction and blessing of Joseph Smith Jr upon the Saints

Soon after this conference Brother Hyrum Smith and family came to Colesville, to ~~labor and~~ live with me for a time <but> the most of his time as well as of my own was spent in traveling and preaching the gospel in the regions round about, wherever we could find any who would listen to it either in public or in private. I will mention one by the name of Emer Harris.[40] Brother to Martin Harris[41] as he was the first man I ever baptized & who proved to be a useful laborer in the vineyard[.] ~~many~~ <a few> believed and were baptized in this region of Country, while many raged and Continued to persecute us and to do all in their power to stop the spread of the gospel as revealed to us through Joseph Smith the prophet.[42] ~~in~~ On the fourth of Oct.[43]

---

38. On Peter Whitmer, Jr. (1809-36), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 63.

39. On Thomas B. Marsh (1799-1866), see introduction to III.K.22, THOMAS B. MARSH AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1857.

40. On Emer Harris (1781-1869), who was eventually baptized on 10 February 1831, see introduction to III.K.20, EMER HARRIS ACCOUNT, 1856.

41. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection."

42. At this point, Journal C inserts the following: "But we moved steadily ahead, putting our trust in the Lord God of Heaven who had revealed the gospel and given [p. 184] unto us a commandment, with power, to preach the same, and to administer in the ordinances of the Church. We feared not man, though many rose up against us in their fury, with the full purpose of hindering us in our labors. But these were labors of love, for we sought only the salvation of the human family and God protected us, and blessed our labors, and our enemies were put to confusion. [p. 185]."

43. It is unknown how Knight remembered the dates he gives in this section of his journal: Monday, 4 October 1830; Wednesday, 6 October; Sunday, 10 October; Thursday, 14 October. Hyrum Smith's presence in Colesville on 4 October seems problematical (see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, n. 266). Knight's accounts for these dates, except for the 14 October event, were

Brother Hyrum Smith held prayer meeting at Brother Aron Culver's[44] and the Promise of the Lord <that when [two or three are gathered together in my name there shall I be in their midst to bless them][45]> was truly verified to us in so much that we did rejoice ~~in his blessings to us~~ <greatly>. On the Sixth day of the Same month we [he]ld me[e]ting at the same place [p. 23] and partook of the sacrament. On the 10th day of the same month held another meeting ~~at the same place~~ <there> when two persons came forward and offered them selves for baptism. We attended to the baptism of these after meeting and in the evening held <another> meeting for confirming them ~~whom we had baptized we had a good time~~

on the fourteenth [October] we held a meeting at my uncls Hezekiah Pecks.[46] Brother Hyrum had great liberty of speech at this meeting and the Spirit of the Lord was poured out upon us in miraculous manner there was much good instruct[i]ons ~~given~~ and exhortation <given>, which were calculated to encourage and strengthen the Saints in this their infantile state At this meeting, four persons came forward and manifested their desires to forsake all and serve God in humility, and Obey the requirements of the Gospel

After meeting closed Brother Hyrum and myself had in=tended to go and spend the night with one of the Brethren who lived a short distance off. As we were about to start the Spirit whispered to me that I should tarry here all night I did So ~~wh~~ <and> retired to bed, where ~~[—]~~ I rested until about twelve oclock when my uncle cam[e] in to ~~the~~ <my> room ~~where I was and~~ desired me to get up ~~telling~~ <saying> ~~me~~ he feared his wife [Martha Long Peck] was about to die. this surprised me as She had been well when I went to bed. After dressing <myself> and asking my heavenly Father to give me wisdom and power to rebuke the destroyer from that habitation, I went in to the room where my aunt lay <she was> in a most fearful Condition, her eyes were closed and She had [a] werry appearence of one in the last agonies of death. She finally opened her eyes, and bade her husband and Children farewell telling them She must die for the redemption of this generation as Jesus Christ had died for the generation in his day. Her whole frame Shook and She smeemed [seemed] to be racked with the most exquisite torment; her

---

dropped from the published version (cf. IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 65).

44. On Aaron Culver (ca. 1766-1831), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 138.

45. Words in brackets deciphered from Pitman shorthand characters by LaJean Purcell Carruth of Louisville, Kentucky.

46. On Hezekiah Peck (1782-1859), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 132.

hands and feet were cold, and the blood Settled in her fingers and feet; while her husband and Children Stood w[ee]pping around her bed This was a scene new to me and I felt that she was suffering under the power of Satan[,] that it was the same Spirit that [had] bound me and overpo[w]ered [p. 24] me at the time Joseph cast him out of me. ~~as I have before ment=tioned~~. I now cried unto the Lord for strength and wisdom that we might prevail over this wicked ~~Spi~~ power with which my aunt was bound. Just at this time my uncle cried aloud to me Saying. O Brother Newel, cannot some thing be done? I felt the Holy Spirit of the Lord rest upon me as he said this, and I im=mediately step[p]ed forward ~~and~~ took her by the hand and com=manded Satan, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to de=part. I told my aunt she should not die, but that she should live to se[e] her children grow up; That Satan had deceived her and put a lying Spirit in her mouth; That Christ had made the only and last atonement for all who would believe on his name; and that there should be no more sheding of blood for Sin. ~~and~~ She believe, and stre[t]ched forth her hand, and cried un=to me, and Satan departed from her.

After laboring Sometime in this vicinity we [Newel Knight and Hyrum Smith] returned to my place, found our wives well and in the enjoyment of the Spirit of the Lord. After Spending a few days and comforting the Saints here at Coalsville we went to See another of my uncl[e]s Ezekiel Peck[47] Brother to Hezekiah Peck, ~~above mentioned~~ these were my Mothers Brothers; we preached the gospel to them both my uncl[e] and his wife Electa[48] embraced the Gospel and were baptized, but few embraced the faith which we preached in that neighborhood. after Spending a few day[s] and laboring until we f[e]lt we had done all we could or all that the people would receive we bade to the few that had believed farewell, and left our blessing with them and again returned home where we found all well. ~~on our return we found~~ <Here we received> a letter from Broth=er Joseph Smith Jr. and

47. Ezekiel Peck (1785-1846) was born at Guilford, Windham County, Vermont. He appears in the 1820 census of Bainbridge, New York, with his wife and three children (1820:160). Ezekiel and Electa Peck were baptized in October 1830. They moved with the Colesville branch to Missouri in 1831, and Ezekiel was ordained a high priest in Nauvoo, Illinois, on 8 October 1844 (*Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 27 [April 1936]: 78-79).

48. Electa (Buck) Peck (1781-?), wife of Ezekiel Peck, was born in New Milford, Litchfield County, Connecticut. She was baptized in October 1830 (*Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 27 [April 1936]: 78-79).

John Whitmer which I will Copy.[49] Also one from Oliver Cowdry which gave us much joy[50]

The work of the Lord seems to be prevailing and gaining ground in various parts for which we feel grateful.

I will mention one instance of an miraculous ~~instance of the~~ power of the Lord made manifest in the healing of a little Child belonging to my Sister [p. 25] ~~Anna~~ <He was the> Son of Freeborn and Anna Demill the boys name was Oliver,[51] he lay verry sick of fever so that his life was dispaired of by all who saw him. It so happened that I went to see them ju[s]t at this time. <and> my Sister beg<g>ed me to lay ~~my~~ hands upon her little Son. I did so and rebuked the fever and the destroyer in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, and commanded the Child to me made whol[e] by virtue of that ~~power~~ portion of the holy preisthood vested in me, and it was done for from that verry hour the Child was made whole.

Oct [18]30 Oct 18<3>0 The following Revelation was given to Parley

---

49. See I.A.5, JOSEPH SMITH TO COLESVILLE SAINTS, 2 DEC 1830.

50. The letter from Oliver Cowdery, addressed to the brethren at Fayette, New York, dated 12 November 1830, Kirtland, Geauga County, Ohio, reads: "We arrived at this place two weeks this day [30 October 1830], on our journey we called at the Buffalo tribe, but stayed a few hours only but left two books with them. We then traveled [p. 207] directly to this place. On the fourth after attending a public meeting we came to the place where we had prophesied tarrying a few days. It is where several families had united themselves as a band of brethren and put all their property together determining to live separate from the world as much as possible and when we had returned we held a meeting with these brethren, and seventeen went immediately forward and were baptized, between [p. 208] eleven and twelve at night, and on the 6th there was one more, on the 7th nine in the daytime and at night nineteen, on the 8th three, on the 9th three, on the 10th at night one, on the 11th one, on this day another, making in the whole fifty five, among whom are brother Sidney Rigdon and wife. There is considerable call here for books, and I wish you would send five hundred immediately here, and when they are or a part of them are [p. 209] sold, one of these will fetch the money, and if our brother Rigdon does not come before that time, I think he will then. Be that sooner or later, receive him [as] if from my own bosom, for he is as I am. ... We expect in a few days to pursue our journey to the Lamanites. Oliver" (Newel Knight Journal, circa 1846, private possession).

51. Oliver DeMill (1830-1908) was born 30 March 1830 at Colesville, New York. He was baptized in the summer of 1839. He died in Rockville, Washington County, Utah (*Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 26 [October 1935]: 150; Family Group Record, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah).

P Pratt[52] and Ziba Peterson[53] Times and Seasons [vol. 4] <page 172> [D&C 32]

Immediately on receveing this Revelation preparations wer[e] made for the journey of the Brethren therein designed to the borders of the lamanites[.] Brother Joseph gave a copy of the above revelation to these Brethren giving them a charge to be faithful and to lift up their voices in every place where they could g<e>t the people to listen to them that they Should bear a faithful testimony to the things which they knew and confidently believed[.] All things haveing been made ready these Brethren bade adiew to their friends and Brethren and started on their journey preaching by the way and lifting up their voices leaving a Sealing testimony in the various villages through which they pass. they contin=ued their journey until they arrived at Kirtland Ohio there they found a large opening many believed and came for ward and were baptized Among the number was Sidney Rigdon[54] who came to see Brother Joseph in Dec to enquire at the Lord what he S[h]ould do and with him came Edward Partridge[55] he was a pattern of piety an man who had been baptized by our Brethren on this journey to the Lamanites[.] Shortly after the ar=rival of these two Brethren the Lord gave the following Revelation to Joseph Smith Jr and Sidney Rigdon.

Dec 1830 Times and Seasons. [vol. 4] 320th page [D&C 35]

allso Revelation Edward Partridge same date page 321 [D&C 36][p. 26]

It may be well to observe here that the Lord greatly en=couraged <and> strengthened the few who had come out from the world and had not f[e]ared to take upon them his name in the west on the Scoffs and persecutions of the enem=ies of truth as revealed to us through the Prophet in these days and in the Book of Mormon. by giving some more extracted information upon the Scripture<s> a translation of which had been allready commenced. The Sa[i]nts of[t]en enquired among themselves what had become of all the Books refered to both in the old and new testament which wer[e] now no where to be fou[n]<d>, the only answer was they are lost it is evident the apos=tles had at least some of these writings as Jude quo=tes the

---

52. On Parley Parker Pratt (1807-57), see introduction to III.K.16, PARLEY P. PRATT AUTOBIOGRAPHY (PART I), CIRCA 1854.

53. On Richard Ziba Peterson (?-1849), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 105.

54. On Sidney Rigdon (1793-1876), see introduction to I.A.13, SIDNEY RIGDON ACCOUNT, CIRCA 1836.

55. On Edward Partridge (1793-1840), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 193.

prophecy of Enoch the Seventh from Ad=am. Greatly to the joy of the Saints which in all ~~members~~ from Colesville to Cananda<i>gua, NY numbered about Seventy Souls did the Lord re=veal the following doings of olden times, from the prophecy of Enoch Extracted from the prophecy of Enoch

Times and Seasons [vol. 4] page 336. [Moses 7]

Soon after the words of Enoch were given which was to us a great satisfaction the Lord gave the Lord gave the following Commandment Revelation given to Joseph Smith Jr. and Sidney Rigdon given Dec 1830

Times and Seasons [vol. 4] page 356 [352; D&C 37]

The year 1830 is about Closeing upon us great things have transpired too great for pen to paint[.] to reflect that the clo=sing year has been one to which all future ages will date the rise or organization of the Church and kingdom of God upon the earth no more to be thrown down and to know that I have Seen and witnessed these important events with my natural eyes and allso to know of asurety that the heavens have been opened to my view that I have beheld the majesty on high and heard the voic[e] of my Redeemer which has spoken words of comfort and instruction to me fills my whole being with gratitude to my heavenly father while I write these things which are verrily true and I write them that my posterity and future generations [p. 27] may know of them and that I may leave a faithful testi=mony of the things which I do know to be verrily true[.] and may the Lord bless me with a wise and an understand=ing heart that I may ever do his will and help to establish his great purposes on the earth is the greatest desire I have

Jan 1st 1831. A new year is now opening upon us[.] who can tell the results of the present year. Tomorrow com=mences the third ~~year~~ conference held by the Church of Jesus Christ in this dispensation

Jany 2nd 1831[.] Conference being assembled at Fayette NY It was opened by Singing and prayer after which much good instruction was given and the Saints manifested an unshaken confidence in the great work in which we were engaged new business was transacted for the church and there appears to be a great and glorious prospect for the kingdom of God[.] In addition to the ~~following~~ business of the conference the following revelation was given ~~to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon~~

Jan 1831

Having returned from Conference in obedience to [t]he com=mandment which had been given I togather with the Coales=ville branch began to make preparations to go to Ohio. T<o>wards the latter part of January Brother Joseph Smith Jr <and wife> in Company with Sidney Rigdon & Edward Partridge Started for Kirtland Ohio.

As might be expected we were obliged to make great sac=rifices of our

property. The most of my time was occupied visiting the Brethren and helping to arrange our affairs so that we might be ready to go in one company and journey to gether from here to Ohio. I need not Say that we greatly misse[d] the Society of Brother Hyrum and his verry amiable wife [Jerusha] when they left us to prepare for the[i]r journey to the west[,] Father Joseph Smith[56] and family Started a little before the Coalesville branch did.

Haveing made the best arrangements we could for the journey we bade adieu to all we had [h]eld dear on this earth except the few who had embraced the gospel of the new and everlasting ~~gospel as~~ covenant as revealed through Joseph [p. 28] Smith Jr. together with the little of our earthly substance which we could take with us we started the forepart of April for Ohio. ...[57]

[*Journal B: Item 1*]

In the spring of 1830 the prophet honored me with a visit. it was an event long to be remembered. in order that my children may come to a knowledge of what transpired I make an extract from Joseph Smith's Journal— ...[58]

And this is my testimony, it was not a dream but a vision like the vision of Stephen, who the day of his martyrdom had a similar view.

~~In May~~ <on the 1st of June> 1830 was baptized by David Whitmer into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints and soon after I was ordained to the Office of an Elder[.] In April 1831 I started for Ohio and landed in the Township of Thompson in the month of June, soon af=ter the following revelation was given to me in Kirtland in the state of Ohio. ...

---

56. On Joseph Smith, Sr. (1771-1840), see "Introduction to Joseph Smith, Sr., Collection."

57. Cf. IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 62-69.

58. Knight then quotes (pp. 1-2) Joseph Smith on how Smith cast a devil out of him (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 40-41). "[I]mmediately the visions of heaven were opened to my [Newel Knight's] view," according to Smith's history.

3.
NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846

[Newel Knight], "Newel Knight Journal," in *Scraps of Biography. Tenth Book of the Faith-Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1883), 46-69.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The published version of Newel Knight's autobiography is carefully written but is "generally more interested in writing a history of the Church than an autobiography" (Bitton 1977, 199). Large portions closely follow Joseph Smith's history, including events where Knight was not present. It was evidently written in 1846 at Winter Quarters, Nebraska. It ends with Knight's departure that year from Nauvoo. He died 11 January 1847, and his death was added by Lydia Knight (1812-84) sometime after 1850 (ibid.). The autobiography also bears the marks of revision preparatory to publication.[1]

I was born September 13th, 1800, in Marlborough, Windham county, Vermont. My father's name was Joseph[2] and my mother's maiden name was Polly Peck.[3]

My father moved into the state of New York, when I was nine years of age [1809], and settled on the Susquehanna river, near [p. 46] the bend in Chenango county, town of Bainbridge, and stayed there two years. He then moved down the river six miles into Broome county, town of Colesville, and there remained nineteen years.

My father owned a farm, a grist-mill and carding machine. He was not rich, yet he possessed enough of this world's goods to secure to himself and family, not only the necessaries, but also the comforts of life.

His family, consisting of my mother, three sons and four daughters,[4] he

---

1. Chapter headings (I-VI) are excluded from the following reproduction.

2. On Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772-1847), see introduction to IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847.

3. On Polly Peck Knight (1774-1831), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 134.

4. Joseph Knight, Sr., married Polly Peck about 1795, and together they had seven children: Nahum, Esther, Newel, Anna, Joseph, Polly, and Elizabeth (L. Cook, 1981, 21).

raised in a genteel and respectable manner, and gave his children a good common school education.

My father was a sober, honest man, generally respected and beloved by his neighbors and acquaintances. He did not belong to any religious sect, but was a believer in the Universalian doctrine.

The business in which my father was engaged often required him to have hired help, and among the many he from time to time employed was a young man by the name of Joseph Smith, Jun.,[5] to whom I was particularly attached. His noble deportment, his faithfulness and his kind address, could not fail to win the esteem of those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. One thing I will mention, which seemed to be a peculiar characteristic with him in all his boyish sports and amusements; I never knew any one to gain advantage over him, and yet he was always kind and kept the good-will of his playmates.

I continued to live with my father until I was twenty-five years old, or nearly so; and on June 7th, 1825, I married a respectable young lady, by the name of Sally Coburn [Colburn].[6] Her health was rather delicate.[7] She had long held an honorable position in the choir of one of the most respectable churches in the vicinity; her father was a musician, and spent much of his

---

5. Because Knight mentions that Smith worked for his father before he discusses his own 7 June 1825 marriage, D. Michael Quinn has incorrectly concluded that Smith was in the Broome County area in the early 1820s rather than in the fall of 1825 as commonly believed (Quinn 1998, 53-54). Quinn places undue emphasis on the sequencing and arrangement of Knight's history. In expected autobiographical form, Knight introduces himself and then his father to readers. He describes his father's religious beliefs, worldly circumstances, and occupation, which was obviously successful judging by his need to hire help, and then returns to himself. Newel states simply that he lived with his father until his marriage, when he moved outside of Colesville to start his own business. Thus, note that unlike younger brother Joseph Knight, Jr., who specifically said that Smith came to work for his father "in 1827 [1826] ... in November," Newel does not state that he worked alongside Smith (see IV.A.5, JOSEPH KNIGHT, JR., HISTORY, 16 AUG 1862). Joseph Knight, Sr., also said that Smith came to work for him in November 1826 (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 1). Note also that Smith was not hired "from time to time," as Quinn states, but rather was among the hired hands that Knight "from time to time" hired.

6. On Sarah ("Sally") Colburn Knight (1804-34), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 164.

7. She died on 15 September 1834 (see IV.E.3, SALLY KNIGHT OBITUARY, 1834).

time from home, which threw a heavy burden upon her mother in raising the family; this, however, she bore with much patience.

On leaving my father I went a few miles distant and put in operation a carding machine, but I soon sold it, and afterwards became engaged in running a grist-mill. During this time my wife gave birth to a child, which did not live and her sufferings [p. 47] were very great. I found my health was gradually declining, and was advised to leave the mill, as it did not agree with my constitution to work in it. I had no taste for farming, so I continued in the mill business until the physician told me I had the consumption, and he thought my case doubtful. I applied to a skillful Indian doctor, from whom I obtained some relief, but was obliged to change my business, and I moved back to Colesville, near to where my father lived.

In settling up my business affairs I suffered a heavy loss, and this, with the expenses incurred by my sickness, considerably reduced my pecuniary affairs. But I was not discouraged, for all my labor prospered in my hands, and I again entered into business.

My oldest brother, Nahum,[8] was married, and lived close at hand; also my sisters Esther[9] and Anna,[10] with their husbands William Stringham,[11] and Freeborn Demill,[12] so that I was happy, not only in the society of my father's immediate family, but also of many relatives who lived in the same vicinity. Peace, prosperity and plenty, seemed to crown our labors, and indeed we were a happy family, and my father rejoiced in having us around him.

During this time we were frequently visited by my young friend, Joseph Smith, who would entertain us with accounts of the wonderful things which had happened to him. It was evident to me that great things were about to be accomplished through him—that the Lord was about to use him as an instrument in His hands to bring to pass the great and mighty work of the last days. This chosen instrument told us of God's manifestations to him, of the discovery and receiving of the plates from which the Book of Mormon

---

8. Nahum Knight was born in 1796 and baptized on an unknown date (Hartley 1986, 52).

9. On Esther Knight Stringham (1798-1831), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 136.

10. Anna Knight DeMill's (1804-?) baptism date is unknown but is believed to have occurred at the same time as her husband's, possibly on 6 or 26 September 1830 (Porter 1971, 205).

11. On William Stringham (1788-1865), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 135.

12. Freeborn DeMill, husband of Anna Knight, was perhaps baptized on 6 or 26 September 1830 (Porter 1971, 205).

was translated, of his persecutions for the gospel's sake, and many other items of his eventful life.

So honest and plain were all his statements that there was no room for any misgivings with me on the subject. Besides, I found by reading and searching the Bible, that there would be a great falling away from the gospel as preached and established by Jesus and His apostles, that in the last days God would set His hand again to restore that which was lost. Then why should any one persecute this boy? I could not. Yet, to [p. 48] my certain knowledge, many did; and those who professed to be preacher's of the gospel, were often his vilest persecutors; and notwithstanding they all professed to doubt the reality of his having the plates of which he had spoken, yet so eager were they to get them from him, that it was only by the Lord, or a kind angel, warning him from time to time of the pursuit of his enemies, that he was enabled to preserve the sacred records. In fact, it seemed very much like it was with Joseph and Mary, the mother of Jesus, being warned of God to flee from place to place, to save the young child; so has Joseph Smith been warned many times, and then barely escaped his pursuers. Of this I can bear a faithful testimony.

Joseph persevered, and the Lord raised up friends who aided him in the great work of translating and printing the record which the unsealed part of the sacred plates contained. The title given to the book being THE BOOK OF MORMON.

On the sixth day of April, 1830, by revelation and commandment from God, a Church was organized, called, "The Church of Jesus Christ," which consisted of only six members, viz., Joseph Smith, Jun., Oliver Cowdery, Hyrum Smith, Peter Whitmer, Jun., Samuel H. Smith, and David Whitmer.[13]

On Sunday, April 11th, 1880 [1830], the first public discourse, preached by a Latter-day Saint, was delivered by Oliver Cowdery,[14] at the house of Peter Whitmer, Sen.[15] During the same [p. 49] month the prophet honored me with a visit, during which time I received a great manifestation, one long to be remembered, and in order that my children may know how

---

13. Knight, who was not present at the church's organization, follows Joseph Smith's history (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 39). On the six members of the church, see also IV.A.4, JOSEPH KNIGHT, JR., STATEMENT, 11 AUG 1862.

14. On Oliver Cowdery (1806-50), see "Introduction to Oliver Cowdery Collection."

15. On Peter Whitmer, Sr. (1773-1854), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 59.

the Lord has dealt with me I will make this extract from Joseph Smith's history. ...[16]

During the last week in May I went on a visit to Fayette and was baptized by David Whitmer.[17]

On the first day of June, 1830,[18] the first conference was held by the Church. Our number consisted of about thirty,[19] besides many others who came to learn of our principles, or were already believers, but had not been baptized. Having opened the meeting by singing and prayer, we partook of the emblems of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. A number were confirmed who had lately been baptized, and several were called and ordained to various offices in the Priesthood. Much good instruction was given, and the Holy Ghost was poured out upon us in a marvelous manner. Many prophesied, while others had the heavens opened to their view. It was a scene long to be remembered. I felt my heart filled with love, with glory, and with pleasure unspeakable. I could discern all that was going on in the room and a vision of futurity also suddenly burst upon me, and I saw, represented, the [p. 52] great work, which, through the instrumentality of Joseph Smith, was to be accomplished. I saw the heavens opened, I beheld the Lord Jesus Christ seated at the right hand of the Majesty on High, and it was made plain to my understanding that the time would come when I should be admitted into His presence, to enjoy His society for ever and ever.[20]

---

16. At this point (pp. 50-52), Joseph Smith's account of the devil being cast out of Newel Knight is quoted from the *Times and Seasons* 4 (15 November 1842): 12-13; 4 (1 December 1842): 22 (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 40-42). It is uncertain why Knight would quote from Smith's version of the incident rather than telling it in his own words. Perhaps he was involved in writing this portion of Smith's history (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 41; Faulring 1987, 238; Jessee 1992, 326).

17. On Newel Knight's baptism, see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 41. On David Whitmer (1805-88), see "Introduction to David Whitmer Collection."

18. Smith's history also has 1 June 1830 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 41), but church records indicate that the conference was held on 9 June 1830 (VI.G.2, FAR WEST RECORD, 9 JUN 1830, 26 SEP 1830 & 2 JAN 1831).

19. Joseph Smith's history, the probable source, mentions "about thirty" members at conference time (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 41). Church records indicate twenty-seven members as of 9 June 1830 (VI.G.2, FAR WEST RECORD, 9 JUN 1830, 26 SEP 1830, & 2 JAN 1831, under 26 September 1830).

20. Cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 41. In a crossed-out portion of an early draft of Joseph Smith's history, these scenes were initially in-

Such scenes as these were calculated to inspire the hearts of the Saints with joy unspeakable, and fill us with awe and reverence for that Almighty Being, by whose grace we had been called and made the happy partakers of such glorious blessings as were poured out upon us—to find ourselves engaged in the very same order of things as were observed and practiced by the holy apostles of old. To realize the importance and solemnity of the great work which had fallen upon our young friend Joseph, and to witness and feel with our natural senses the like glorious manifestations of the power of the Priesthood, the gifts and blessings of the Holy Ghost and the goodness and condescension of a merciful God unto such as obey the everlasting gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, combined to create within us sensations of rapturous gratitude and inspire us with fresh zeal and energy in the cause of truth, and also to confirm our faith in Joseph Smith being the instrument in the hands of God to restore the Priesthood again to man on earth, and to set up the kingdom of God, which shall never more be overcome.

Soon after conference Joseph Smith the Prophet, accompanied by his wife, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer[21] and David Whitmer, came to Colesville to make us a visit.[22] There were many in our neighborhood who believed, and were anxiously waiting for an opportunity to be baptized. Meeting was appointed for the Sabbath, and on Saturday[23] afternoon we erected a dam across a stream which was close by, with the intention of baptizing those who applied on Sunday, but during the night a mob collected and tore away the dam. This prevented us from attending to the ordinance of baptism that day. It was afterwards ascertained that the mob had been instigated to this act of molestation, by certain sectarian priests of the neighborhood, who began to think their craft was in danger, and took this plan to stop the progress of truth. The [p. 53] sequel will show how determinedly they prosecuted, their opposition, as well as to what little purpose in the end.

The Sabbath arrived,[24] we held our meeting, Oliver Cowdrey [Cow-

---

correctly assigned to 6 April 1830 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, DRAFT:9-10, n. 82).

21. On John Whitmer (1802-78), see "Introduction to John Whitmer Collection."

22. Judging by the sequence of events, Smith and company probably arrived in Colesville on Friday, 25 June 1830. Knight's sequence closely follows Smith's official history (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 42).

23. 26 June 1830 (cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 42).

24. 27 June 1830 (cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 42-43; see also IV.D.7, EMILY (COLBURN) AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 38-48).

dery] preached, others bore testimony to the Book of Mormon, the doctrine of repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, and the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, etc. In the audience were those who had torn down the dam. They seemed desirous of giving us trouble, but did not until after the meeting was dismissed, when they immediately commenced talking to those whom they considered our friends, to try to turn them against us and our doctrine.

Among those present I will mention the case of one young lady—Miss Emily Coburn [Colburn],[25] my wife's sister. The Rev. [John] Shearer,[26] a divine of the Presbyterian faith, who had considered himself her pastor, understanding that she was likely to believe our doctrine, came to labor with her a short time previous to our meeting. He spent some time without being able to persuade her against us, and then endeavored to have her leave her sister's house, and go with him to her father's, who lived ten miles distant: for this purpose he had recourse to stratagem, he told her that her brothers were waiting for her at a certain place and wished her to go home with them. He succeeded thus in getting her a little way from the house, when, seeing that her brothers were not waiting for her, she refused to go farther with him. He thereupon took her by the arm and tried to force her along; my wife, her sister, was soon with them, and the two women being one too many for him he was obliged to sneak off without accomplishing his errand, after all his labor and ingenuity. Nothing daunted, however, he went to her father, and represented something to him, which induced the old gentleman to give him a power of attorney. Thus armed he returned, and as soon as our meeting was out on the Sunday evening, he served process upon her, and immediately carried her off to her father's residence. All his labor was in vain, however, for the said Emily Coburn in a short time afterwards was baptized and confirmed a member of the Church.[27]

Early on Monday[28] morning we were on the alert, and before our enemies were aware of it, Oliver Cowdery proceeded to [p. 54] baptize Emma Smith, Hezekiah Peck and wife [Martha Long Peck], Joseph Knight and wife [Polly Peck Knight], William Stringham, Joseph Knight, Jun., Aaron Culver and wife [Esther Peck Culver], Levi Hall, Polly Knight and Julia String-

---

25. On Emily Colburn (1813-?), see introduction to IV.D.7, EMILY (COLBURN) AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882.

26. On John Sherer (1791-?), see introduction to IV.C.1, JOHN SHERER TO ABSALOM PETERS, 18 NOV 1830.

27. Knight's account of the abduction closely follows Smith's history (cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 43-45).

28. 28 June 1830 (cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 43).

ham.[29] But before the baptism was entirely finished, the mob began to collect again. We retired to my father's house, and the mob, which numbered about fifty surrounded the house, raging with anger, and apparently wishing to commit violence against us. So violent and troublesome were they, that the brethren were obliged to leave my father's house and they succeeded in reaching mine. The mob who soon found where they had gone, followed them and it was only by great prudence on our part and help from our Heavenly Father that they were kept from laying violent hands upon us.

A meeting had been appointed for the evening to confirm those who had been baptized in the morning. The time appointed had arrived, and our friends had nearly all collected together, when, to our great surprise and sorrow, the constable came and arrested Brother Joseph Smith, Jun., on a warrant charging him with being a disorderly person, and of setting the country in an uproar, by preaching the Book of Mormon.[30] The constable soon after he had arrested Joseph, told him that the plan of those who had got out the warrant for his arrest, was to get him into the hands of the mob who were now lying in ambush for him, and that he, the constable, was determined to save Joseph from them, as he found him to be a different person to what he had been represented. This proved true, for they had not proceeded far from the house, when the wagon in which Joseph and the constable were riding, was surrounded by the mob, who seemed only to await some signal from the constable, but to their great discomfiture, he gave the horses the whip and was soon out of their reach. As the constable was driving briskly along, one of the wagon wheels came off, which accident left them almost in the hands of the mob, who had pursued them closely. But the constable was an expert man and managed to get the wheel on again, before the mob overtook him, and soon left them in the rear once more.

He drove on to the town of South Bainbridge, Chenango county, where he lodged Joseph in an upper room of a tavern; [p. 55] and in order that all might be safe for himself and Joseph, he slept, or laid during the night with his feet against the door, and kept a loaded gun by him, (Joseph occu-

---

29. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 43, also lists Stringham's wife Esther Knight Stringham; and III.I.5, W. W. PHELPS ACCOUNT, 1833, states that thirteen people were baptized on this occasion, whereas Knight lists only twelve. Sally Knight, wife of Newel, was also apparently baptized, although she is not mentioned in either list (IV.E.3, SALLY KNIGHT OBITUARY, 1834; see also Porter 1971, 202-203).

30. 30 June 1830. Knight's account of Joseph Smith's arrest and subsequent trials closely follows Smith's official history (cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 44-47).

pied a bed in the same room) and declared that if they were unlawfully molested he would fight for Joseph, and defend him to the utmost of his ability.

On the following day[31] a court was convened for the purpose of investigating the charges which had been made against Joseph Smith, Jun. On account of the many scandalous reports which had been put in circulation, a great excitement prevailed.

My father, Joseph Knight, Sen., did not let pass this opportunity of doing all in his power to assist this persecuted boy. He went to two of his neighbors, James Davidson[32] and John Reid,[33] Esqs., respectable farmers who were well versed in the laws of their country, and retained them in behalf of Joseph during his trial.

The trial commenced among a crowded multitude of spectators, who generally seemed to believe Joseph guilty of all that had been alleged against him, and, of course were zealous to see him punished for his crimes.

Among the many witnesses called up against Joseph, was one Josiah Stoal,[34] a gentleman for whom Joseph formerly worked. He was examined as follows:

Question—"Did not the prisoner, Joseph Smith have a horse from you?"

Answer—"Yes."

Q.—"Did he not go to you and tell you an angel had appeared unto him, and told him to get the horse from you?"

A.—"No; he told me no such thing."

Q.—"Well, how did he get the horse from you?"

A.—"He bought it from me the same as any other man would do."

Q.—"Have you had your pay?"

A.—"That is not your business."

The question being repeated, the witness replied, "I hold his note for the price of the horse, which I consider as good as the money, for I am well acquainted with Joseph Smith, Jun., [p. 56] and know him to be honest, and, if he wishes, I am ready to let him have another horse on the same terms."

---

31. 1 July 1830 (cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 44-45). This trial was held before Justice Joseph Chamberlin (see IV.F.4, JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JUL 1830).

32. On James Davidson (1779-1847), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 146.

33. On John Reed (1784-1878), see introduction to IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844.

34. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

Mr. Jonathan Thompson[35] was next called and examined.

Question—"Has not the prisoner, Joseph Smith, Jun., had a yoke of oxen of you?"

Answer—"Yes."

Q.—"Did he not obtain them from you by telling you that he had a revelation to the effect that he was to have them?"

A.—"No; he did not mention a word of the kind concerning the oxen; he purchased them the same as any other man would."

After several more similar attempts the court was detained for a time in order that two young ladies, daughters of Josiah Stoal, with whom Joseph had at times kept company, might be sent for, in order if possible, to elicit something from them which could be made a pretext against Joseph.

The young ladies came, and were each examined as to his character and conduct in general, but in particular as to his behavior towards them in public and private; they both bore such testimony in Joseph's favor, as to leave his enemies without a cause for complaint. Several attempts were made to prove something against Joseph, and even circumstances which were alleged to have taken place in Broome county were brought forward. But these Joseph's lawyers would not admit against him, in consequence of which his persecutors managed to detain the court until they had succeeded in obtaining a warrant from Broome county. This warrant they served upon him at the very moment he had been acquitted by the court. [p. 57]

The constable who served this second warrant upon Joseph had no sooner arrested him, than he began to abuse him; and so heartless was he, that, although Joseph had been kept all day in court without anything to eat since the morning, he hurried him off to Broome county, a distance of about fifteen miles, before allowing him to eat. The constable took him to a tavern, where were gathered a number of men, who used every means to abuse, ridicule, and insult him. They spit upon him, pointed their fingers at him, saying, "Prophesy! prophesy!" and used their utmost ability to pain and torment his mind; and thus did they imitate those who crucified the Savior of mankind, not knowing what they did. The tavern was but a short distance from Joseph's own house; he wished to spend the night with his wife, offering to give any bail desired, for his appearance; but this was denied him. He applied for something to eat. The constable ordered him some crusts of bread and some water, which was the only fare he received that night. At length he retired to bed; the constable made him lie next to the wall, he then laid himself

35. On Jonathan Thompson (1787-?), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 149.

down, threw his arms around Joseph, as if fearing that he intended to escape; and in this not very agreeable manner was Joseph compelled to spend the night. Next day[36] he was brought before the magistrate's court of Colesville, Broome county, and placed on trial. His friends and lawyers were again at his side, and his former persecutors were arrayed against him with the rage and fury of demons visible upon their countenances, and manifested in [p. 58] their actions. Many witnesses were again examined, some of whom swore to the most palpable falsehoods, just as those had done who appeared against him the previous day. But they contradicted themselves so plainly that the court would not admit their testimony. Others were called who showed by their zeal that they were willing to prove anything against him, but all they could do was to tell some things they had heard somebody else say about him.

They proceeded for a considerable time in this frivolous and vexatious manner, when finally I was called upon, and examined by Lawyer Seymour,[37] who had been sent for specially for this occasion. One lawyer, Burch,[38] was also retained on the prosecution, but Mr. Seymour seemed to be a more zealous Presbyterian, and seemed more anxious and determined that the people should not be deluded by any one professing godliness and not denying the power thereof.

As soon as I had been sworn, Mr. Seymour proceeded to interrogate me as follows:

Question.—"Did the prisoner, Joseph Smith, Jun., cast the devil out of you?"

Answer.—"No, sir."

Q.—"Why, have you not had the devil cast out of you?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"And had not Joseph Smith some hand in it being done?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"And did he not cast him out of you?"

A.—"No, sir, it was done by the power of God, and Joseph Smith was the instrument in the hands of God on this occasion. He commanded him to come out of me in the name of Jesus Christ."

Q.—"And are you sure it was the devil?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

---

36. 2 July 1830 (cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 45-47). This trial was held before Justice Joel K. Noble (see IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 2, 3).

37. On William Seymour (1780-1848), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 155.

38. This person remains unidentified.

Q.—"Did you see him after he was cast out of you?"

A.—"Yes, sir, I saw him."

Q.—"Pray, what did he look like?"

(Here one of the lawyers on the part of the defense told me I need not answer that question). I replied: [p. 59]

"I believe, I need not answer you that question, but I will do it if I am allowed to ask you one, and you can answer it. Do you, Mr. Seymour, understand the things of the Spirit?"

"No," answered Mr. Seymour, "I do not pretend to such big things."

"Well, then," I replied, "it will be of no use for me to tell you what the devil looked like, for it was a spiritual sight and spiritually discerned, and, of course, you would not understand it were I to tell you of it."

The lawyer dropped his head, while the loud laugh of the audience proclaimed his discomfiture.

Mr. Seymour now addressed the court and in a long and violent harrangue endeavored to blacken the character of Joseph, and bring him in guilty of the charges preferred against him.

Messrs. Davidson and Reed followed on Joseph's behalf. They held forth in true colors the nature of the prosecution, the malignity of intention, and the apparent disposition of the prosecution to persecute their client, rather than to do him justice. They took up the different arguments that had been brought forward by the lawyers for the prosecution, and having shown their utter futility and misapplication, they proceeded to scrutinize the evidence which had been adduced, and each in his turn thanked God that he had been engaged in so good a cause, as that of defending a man, whose character stood so well the test of such a strict investigation. In fact, these men, although not regular lawyers, were, upon this occasion, able to put to silence their opponents, and convince the court that Joseph Smith, Jun., was innocent. They spoke like men inspired of God; while those who were arrayed against Joseph, trembled under the sound of their voices, and shook before them as criminals before the bar of justice. Disappointment and shame were depicted on the faces of the assembled multitude, who now began to learn that nothing could be sustained against Joseph. The constable, who had arrested Joseph, and treated him in so cruel and heartless a manner, came forward and apologized and asked his forgiveness for the ill-treatment he had given him, so much was this man changed that he told Joseph the mob had resolved, if the [p. 60] court acquitted him, that they would take him, tar and feather him, and ride him on a rail; and further, that if Joseph wished, he would lead him out another way, so that he could escape in safety.

After all the efforts of the people and court to sustain the charges brought against Joseph, proving an entire failure, he was discharged and suc-

ceeded in making good his escape from the mob through the instrumentality of his new friend, the constable. It was truly a source of great joy to us to know that Joseph was once more out of the hands of his persecutors.

After a few days[39] the prophet, accompanied by Oliver Cowdery, came to my house, intending to confirm those who had been baptized. These servants of God had scarcely arrived when the mob began to collect, and so violent were they, that it was thought best for Joseph and Oliver to make their escape lest they should suffer at the hands of our enemies. They left without taking any refreshment, the mob closely pursuing them, and it was ofttimes as much as Joseph and Oliver could do to escape them. However, by traveling all night, excepting a short time when they were forced to lie down and rest themselves under a tree, alternately watching and sleeping, they managed to get beyond the reach of their pursuers. Thus were they persecuted because of their religious faith, in a country, whose constitution guarantees to every man the right of worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience; and by men, too, who were professors of religion, and zealous to shield themselves under the broad folds of our glorious constitution, though they could so wantonly deny it to others.

I will here name a few of the most forward instigators of this unhallowed persecution. Cyrus McMaster,[40] a Presbyterian of high standing in his church. He at one time told Joseph personally that he considered him guilty, without judge or jury. The celebrated Dr. Boyington [Nathan Boynton][41] was another, also a Presbyterian. And a young man by the name of [Abram W.] Benton,[42] of the same religious faith, swore out the first warrant against Joseph.

I will say, however, that amid all our trials, that the God who delivered Daniel and the three Hebrew children, and [p. 61] preserved them upon the earth in spite of all their persecutors, preserved the Prophet Joseph from suffering death, at the hands of those who were his sworn enemies, and who did all in their power, both in private and public, to destroy him. The Lord who well knew our weak state, blessed us, by giving us His Holy Spirit to comfort

---

39. For Joseph Smith's visit to Colesville in July 1830, Knight follows very closely Smith's own history (cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 47-48).

40. On Cyrus McMaster (1801-79), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 160.

41. On Nathan Boynton (1788-1860), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 161.

42. On Abram W. Benton (1805-67), see IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831.

our hearts, so that our faith in the restoration of His gospel to man on the earth, through the instrumentality of Joseph Smith, Jun., remained firm and unshaken.

In the beginning of August[,][43] I, in company with my wife, went to make a visit to Brother Joseph Smith, Jun., who then resided at Harmony, Penn. We found him and his wife well, and in good spirits. We had a happy meeting. It truly gave me joy to again behold his face. As neither Emma,[44] the wife of Joseph Smith, nor my wife had been confirmed, we concluded to attend to that holy ordinance at this time, and also to partake of the sacrament, before we should leave for home. In order to prepare for this, Brother Joseph set out to procure some wine for the occasion, but he had gone only a short distance, when he was met by a heavenly messenger, and received the first four verses of the revelation given on page 138, of the Doctrine and Covenants (new edition) [D&C 27],[45] the remainder being given in the September following at, Fayette, New York. [p. 62]

In obedience to this revelation we prepared some wine of our own make, and held our meeting, consisting of only five persons namely, Joseph Smith and wife, John Whitmer, and myself and wife. We partook of the sacrament, after which we confirmed the two sisters into the Church, and spent the evening in a glorious manner. The Spirit of the Lord was poured out upon us. We praised the God of Israel and rejoiced exceedingly.

About this time [August 1830][46] the spirit of persecution began to manifest itself against us in the neighborhood where Joseph lived, which was commenced by a man of the Methodist persuasion who professed to be a minister of God [Nathaniel Lewis].[47] And so crafty was he, that he succeeded in influencing Mr. [Isaac] Hale,[48] father-in-law to Joseph, so that he would no longer give him protection, although he had promised to do so.

---

43. Knight's account of his visit to Harmony follows very closely Smith's history (cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 51-52). However, the event probably occurred in early September 1830.

44. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

45. According to the Book of Commandments, D&C 27 was dictated on 4 September 1830. Reference to the "new edition" edited by Orson Pratt in 1879 reflects the work of the 1883 publishers of Knight's autobiography.

46. Cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 52.

47. On Nathaniel Lewis (1769-1860), see introduction to V.A.3, NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834.

48. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

Brother Joseph intended visiting the Saints at Colesville on Saturday the 21st of August, and on my return, arrangements were made for the brethren and sisters to meet on that day, if possible, without letting our enemies know anything about it. But Brother Joseph was prevented from keeping his engagement on this occasion, but wrote a letter[49] in which he explained the cause of his not coming: the conveyance in which he intended to make the journey did not arrive from "the west;" and the distance was too great to walk. He exhorted the Saints, in a very excellent letter to remain faithful and true to God, and prophesied that the wrath of God should soon overtake their wicked persecutors.

On the 29th,[50] however, Brothers Joseph and Hyrum Smith,[51] and John and David Whitmer came to fill the before-mentioned appointment to hold meeting and to confirm those who had been baptized in June previous. As they well knew the hostilities of our enemies in their quarter, and also knowing it was their duty to visit us, they called upon our Heavenly Father in mighty prayer that He would grant them an opportunity of meeting with us; that He would blind the eyes of their enemies that they might not see, and that on this occasion they might return unmolested. Their prayers were not in vain. A little distance from my house they encountered a large company of men at work upon the public road, among [p. 63] whom were found some of our most bitter enemies who looked earnestly at the brethren but not knowing them, the brethren passed on unmolested.

That evening the Saints assembled together and were confirmed, and partook of the sacrament. We had a happy meeting, having much reason to rejoice in the God of our salvation, and sing hosannas to His Holy name.

Next morning the brethren set out on their return home, and although their enemies had offered a reward to any one who would give information of their arrival at our place, they got clear out of the neighborhood, without the least annoyance, and arrived home in safety. It was not long, however, after the brethren had left us, when the mob began to collect together and threatened and abused us in the most shameful and disgusting manner during the remainder of the day.

---

49. See I.A.3, JOSEPH SMITH TO COLESVILLE SAINTS, 28 AUG 1830.

50. The account of Smith's late August 1830 visit to Colesville closely follows I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 53. However, the visit, and the confirmations that followed, probably occurred in September.

51. On Hyrum Smith (1800-44), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 12.

Soon after[52] this I took my team and wagon to Harmony to move Joseph and his family to Fayette, New York. Mr. Whitmer having heard of the persecutions which had been raised against Joseph in Harmony, had invited the prophet to go and live with him. About the last of August, Joseph arrived at Fayette amid the joy and congratulations of friends and brethren.

Our business affairs did not suffer materially although we had met with so much opposition and persecution, and we were still able to live and aid the work of God.

After arranging my affairs at home, I again set out for Fayette, to attend our second conference,[53] which had been appointed to be held at Father Whitmer's, where Joseph then resided. On my arrival I found Brother Joseph in great distress of mind on account of Hyrum Page,[54] who had managed to get up some dissension of feeling among the brethren by giving revelations concerning the government of the Church and other matters, which he claimed to have received through the medium of a stone he possessed. He had quite a roll of papers full of these revelations, and many in the Church were led astray by them. Even Oliver Cowdery and the Whitmer family had given heed to them, although they were in contradiction to the New Testament and the revelations of these last days. Here was a chance for Satan to work among the little [p. 64] flock, and he sought by this means to accomplish what persecution failed to do. Joseph was perplexed and scarcely knew how to meet this new exigency. That night I occupied the same room that he did and the greater part of the night was spent in prayer and supplication. After much labor with these brethren they were convinced of their error, and confessed the same, renouncing the revelations as not being of God, but ac-

---

52. The account of helping Smith move to Fayette follows I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 53. However, the move probably took place in September. It would not have been possible for Smith to visit Colesville on 29 August, return to Harmony on the 30th, and travel to Fayette "soon after" to arrive at the Whitmer home "[a]bout the last of August." The compression is likely due to Knight's effort to harmonize Smith's letter, dated 28 August 1830 (see I.A.3, JOSEPH SMITH TO COLESVILLE SAINTS, 28 AUG 1830; IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846, 3:21), with the incorrect statement in Smith's history that he arrived in Fayette "during the last week of August."

53. The three-day conference was held on 26-28 September 1830 (VI.G.2, FAR WEST RECORD, 9 JUN 1830, 26 SEP 1830 & 2 JAN 1831). Knight's account is partly influenced by Smith's history but also contains personal reminiscence (cf. I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 54-60).

54. On Hiram Page (1800-52), see introduction to VI.C.1, HIRAM PAGE TO WILLIAM MCLELLIN, 30 MAY 1847.

knowledged that Satan had conspired to overthrow their belief in the true plan of salvation. In consequence of these things Joseph enquired of the Lord before conference commenced and received the revelation published on page 140 of the Doctrine and Covenants [D&C 28],[55] wherein God explicitly states His mind and will concerning the receiving of revelation.

Conference having assembled, the first thing done was to consider the subject of the stone in connection with Hyrum Page, and after considerable investigation and discussion, Brother Page and all the members of the Church present renounced the stone, and the revelations connected with it, much to our joy and satisfaction. The sacrament was then administered, a number were confirmed, many were ordained, and a great variety of Church business was transacted.

During this time we had much of the power of God manifested among us and it was wonderful to witness the wisdom that Joseph displayed on this occasion, for truly God gave unto him great wisdom and power, and it seems to me, even now, that none who saw him administer righteousness under such trying circumstances, could doubt that the Lord was with him, as he acted—not with wisdom of man, but with the wisdom of God. The Holy Ghost came upon us and filled our hearts with unspeakable joy. Before this memorable conference closed three other revelations [D&C 29, 30, 31] besides the one already mentioned were received from God by our prophet, and we were made to rejoice exceedingly in His goodness.

Soon after this conference Brother Hyrum Smith, wife and family came to Colesville, to live with me,[56] but most of his time, as also that of my own, was spent in the villages around, preaching to gospel wherever we could find any who would listen to us, either in public or private. A few believed and were [p. 65] baptized, among whom was Emer Harris,[57] brother to Martin Harris, who proved to be a useful laborer in the vineyard.

Many raged and persecuted us, doing all in their power to stop the progress of the work. But we moved steadily ahead, putting our trust in the Lord God of heaven.

On the 14th of October,[58] Brother Hyrum Smith and I held a meeting

---

55. This reference to D&C 28 is to the 1879 edition and reflects the work of the 1883 editors.

56. Hyrum Smith left Manchester in early October (see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:Frag. 6, and n. 266).

57.On Emer Harris (1781-1869), who lived in Windham, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, see introduction to III.K.20, EMER HARRIS ACCOUNT, 1856.

58. In his journal, Knight describes meetings he and Hyrum Smith at-

at my uncle Hezekiah Peck's.[59] Brother Hyrum had great liberty of speech, and the Spirit of the Lord was poured out upon us in a miraculous manner. There was much good instruction and exhortation given, such as was calculated to encourage and strengthen the Saints in this their infantile state. At this meeting, four persons came forward and manifested their desire to forsake all, serve their God in humility, and obey the requirements of the gospel.

After the close of the meeting, Brother Hyrum and myself intended going to spend the night with one of the brethren who lived a short distance from my uncle's, but as we were ready to start, the Spirit whispered to me that I should tarry there at my uncle's all night. I did so, and retired to bed, where I rested till midnight when my uncle came to my room and desired me to get up, saying he feared his wife [Martha Long Peck][60] was about to die. This surprised me, as she was quite well when I went to bed. I dressed myself, and having asked my Heavenly Father to give me wisdom, and power to rebuke the destroyer from the habitation, I went to the room where my aunt lay. She was in a most fearful condition; her eyes were closed, and she appeared to be in the last agonies of death. Presently she opened her eyes, and bade her husband and children farewell, telling them she must die for the redemption of this generation, as Jesus Christ had died for the generation in His day. Her whole frame shook, and she appeared to be racked with the most exquisite pain and torment; her hands and feet were cold, and the blood settled in her fingers; while her husband and children stood weeping around her bed. This was a scene new to me, and I felt she was suffering under the power of Satan—that was the same spirit that had bound and overpowered me at the time Joseph cast him out. I now cried unto the Lord for strength and wisdom that we might prevail over this wicked and delusive power. Just at this time my [p. 66] uncle cried aloud to me, saying: "O, Brother Newel, cannot something be done?" I felt the Holy Spirit of the Lord rest upon me as he said this, and I immediately stepped forward, took her by the hand, and commanded Satan, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to depart. I told my aunt she would not die, but that she should live to see her children grown up; that Satan had deceived her, and put a lying spirit in her mouth; that Christ had

---

tended at Aaron Culver's on 4, 6, and 10 October (see IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846, 23-24).

59. On Hezekiah Peck (1782-1859), who lived at South Bainbridge, New York, see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 132. Ezekiel and Electa Peck were baptized sometime in October 1830 (*Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 27 [April 1936]: 78-79).

60. On Martha Long Peck (1789-?), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 133.

made the only and last atonement for all who would believe on His name; and that there should be no more shedding of blood for sin. She believed and stretched forth her hand, and cried unto me, and Satan departed from her.

After laboring for some time in this vicinity, we returned to my home, found our wives well and in the enjoyment of the Spirit of the Lord. We also found Brother Orson Pratt[61] awaiting us, who had been called by the prophet to labor with us in the ministry.[62]

Brother Oliver Cowdery had been called by revelation to go with Parley P. Pratt,[63] Ziba Peterson[64] and Peter Whitmer, Jun.,[65] to preach to the Lamanites [D&C 32]. Parley P. Pratt had belonged to the same church as Sidney Rigdon,[66] and had been sent by his sect on some business to New York state, and while there he heard, and embraced the gospel, was ordained an Elder and immediately sent on this mission. Having been acquainted with Sidney Rigdon, he called on him, [p. 67] presented the Book of Mormon to him as a revelation from God, and before these brethren moved on to the fulfillment of their mission, Sidney Rigdon, with a large number of the members of his church, was baptized.[67] The success of these brethren was immense. They preached in all the towns and villages on their road, bearing a faithful testimony wherever they could be heard.

In December,[68] Sidney Rigdon visited Joseph Smith, Jun., to inquire

---

61. On Orson Pratt (1811-81), see introduction to I.A.16, ORSON PRATT ACCOUNT, CIRCA 1839.

62. Orson Pratt was baptized by his brother Parley on 19 September and traveled to Fayette to see Smith and the witnesses in late October (VI.F.8, ORSON PRATT ACCOUNT, 1858). On 4 November Smith dictated a revelation (D&C 34) pertaining to Pratt's call to the ministry and on 1 December Smith ordained him an elder (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 77-78; VI.F.8, ORSON PRATT ACCOUNT, 1858). Pratt said that he arrived at Colesville in December (VI.F.8, ORSON PRATT ACCOUNT, 1858). He brought with him a letter of introduction signed by Joseph Smith and John Whitmer, dated 2 December 1830, referring to him as an "apostle" (see I.A.5, JOSEPH SMITH TO COLESVILLE SAINTS, 2 DEC 1830).

63. On Parley Parker Pratt (1807-57), see introduction to III.K.16, PARLEY P. PRATT AUTOBIOGRAPHY (PART I), CIRCA 1854.

64. On Richard Ziba Peterson (?-1849), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 105.

65. On Peter Whitmer, Jr. (1809-36), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 63.

66. On Sidney Rigdon (1793-1876), see introduction to I.A.13, SIDNEY RIGDON ACCOUNT, CIRCA 1836.

67. Sidney Rigdon was probably baptized on 8 November 1830.

68. Rigdon arrived at Fayette, New York, on or before 7 December 1830,

of the Lord what he should do. This was a very pleasant meeting, and, by the voice of revelation [D&C 35], these brethren were called to labor together even from their first acquaintance.

A new year dawned upon us, with everything around us bright and cheerful, and the prospects ahead such as to give us joy. In the midst of persecution we rejoiced, knowing that our God was with us, and His great work would roll on, and man could not stop its progress.

On the 2nd of January, 1831,[69] the third conference of the Church assembled. Many of the Saints came together from the region around, and much good instruction was given. The Saints manifested unshaken confidence in the great work which they were engaged, and all rejoiced under the blessings of the gospel. Considerable business was transacted for the Church.

It was at this conference that we were instructed as a people, to begin the gathering of Israel, and a revelation was given to the prophet on this subject [D&C 38].

Having returned home from conference, in obedience to the commandment which had been given, I, together with the Colesville Branch, began to make preparations to go to Ohio. Towards the latter part of January Brother Joseph Smith and wife, Sidney Rigdon and Edward Partridge[70] started for Kirtland, Ohio.[71]

As might be expected, we were obliged to make great sacrifices of our property. The most of my time was occupied in visiting the brethren, and helping to arrange their affairs, so that we might travel together in one company. Having made the best arrangements we could for the journey, we bade adieu [p. 68] to all we held dear on this earth and in the early part of April started for our destination.

We had proceeded but a few days on our journey, when I was subepnaed [subpoenaed] as a witness, and had to go to Colesville. On arriv-

---

on which day Smith dictated a revelation (D&C 35) for Rigdon (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 78-80).

69. This conference was held at the home of Peter Whitmer, Sr., in Fayette, New York (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 88-90; VI.F.8, ORSON PRATT ACCOUNT, 1858; VI.B.1, JOHN WHITMER HISTORY, 1831, 5; VI.G.2, FAR WEST RECORD, 9 JUN 1830, 26 SEP 1830 & 2 JAN 1831; compare IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846).

70. On Edward Partridge (1793-1840), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 193.

71. Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon evidently left Waterloo, New York, about 24 January 1831 (see III.E.3, *PALMYRA REFLECTOR,* 1829-1831, under 1 February 1831, 95).

ing there it was very evident that this plan had been adopted by our enemies to add a little more to the persecutions already upon us. The whole company declined traveling until I should return.

Soon after I left, my aunt, Electa Peck,[72] fell and broke her shoulder in a most shocking manner; a surgeon was called to relieve her sufferings, which were very great. My aunt dreamed that I returned and laid my hands upon her, prayed for her, and she was made whole, and pursued her journey with the company. She related this dream to the surgeon who replied, "If you are able to travel in many weeks it will be a miracle, and I will be a Mormon too."

I arrived at the place, where the company had stopped, late in the evening; but, on learning of the accident, I went to see my aunt, and immediately on my entering the room she said, "O, Brother Newel, if you will lay your hands upon me, I shall be well and able to go on the journey with you." I stepped up to the bed, and, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, rebuked the pain with which she was suffering, and commanded her to be made whole; and it was done; for the next morning she arose, dressed herself, and pursued the journey with us.

We arrived at Buffalo without any further trouble, where we were to take passage on board a sloop for Fairport, Ohio. But the wind blew from the lake and filled the harbor with ice, so that we were detained nearly two weeks. When we set sail on the lake, the winds continued boisterous, and the vessel was tossed about in such a manner that nearly all the company were sea-sick, which made it rather a disagreeable voyage. We arrived safely, however, at our destination. ...

72. Wife of Ezekiel Peck.

4.
JOSEPH KNIGHT, JR., STATEMENT, 11 AUGUST 1862

Joseph Knight, Jr., Statement, 11 August 1862, Joseph Knight, Jr., File, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Joseph Knight, Jr. (1808-66), was born in Halifax, Windham County, Vermont. In December 1808 the Knights moved to Chenango County, New York, and two years later located near Colesville in Broome County. In late 1826, Knight worked with Joseph Smith on his father's farm and heard Smith tell about his visions and discovery of gold plates. Knight was baptized on 28 June 1830, moved with the Colesville branch to Ohio in the spring of 1831, and moved later that same year to Jackson County, Missouri, where he worked as a miller and farmer. He was among the Mormons who were driven from Jackson County in 1833; he remained in Clay County until 1839, then relocated to Lima, Illinois. After a short stay, he moved to nearby La Harpe to help Stephen Markham run the church's flour mill. He was ordained a priest, his first priesthood office, during his stay at La Harpe, and was ordained a high priest in Nauvoo in 1846. As the Mormons prepared to move west, Knight served as a bishop at Winter Quarters (now Florence, Nebraska). He arrived in Utah in 1851 and died at Salt Lake City (Jessee 1989, 496; Hartley 1986, 213-18; IV.A.5, JOSEPH KNIGHT, JR., HISTORY, 16 AUG 1862).

The present, signed document dated 11 August 1862, Salt Lake City, pertains to the identity of the six founding members of the church. Joseph Smith's history mentioned that the church was organized on 6 April 1830 by six members (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 37) but failed to name them. Knight says that Oliver Cowdery told him, perhaps in January 1849 when Cowdery visited Winter Quarters (see III.G.18, OLIVER COWDERY INTERVIEW WITH SAMUEL W. RICHARDS, JAN 1849), that the six were Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Smith, Jr., Hyrum Smith, Peter Whitmer, Jr., Samuel Smith, and David Whitmer.[1] Knight's 1862

1. Cowdery wrote to Phineas H. Young on 23 March 1846 that at the time of organization, "six members only belonged to the Church" (III.G.15, OLIVER COWDERY TO PHINEAS H. YOUNG, 23 MAR 1846).

statement "is generally recognized as the authoritative identification of the original six members" (Porter 1971, 249).[2]

Evidently, the church records which would have contained such information have not survived. A revelation dictated on 6 April 1830 commanded that a record be kept (see D&C 21:1), but the earliest record of a church meeting dates to the first church conference of 9 June. Instead, historians are left with a number of contradictory reminiscences and second-hand accounts. Richard L. Anderson has identified seven lists—produced by Brigham Young, Joseph Knight, Jr., and David Whitmer—purporting to name the six founding members of the church (R. L. Anderson 1980, 44-45); Dean C. Jessee has added another from William McLellin (Jessee 1989, 241, n. 5); and H. Michael Marquardt has referred to a similar list in Jonathan B. Turner's 1842 book, *Mormonism in All Ages* (Marquardt 1992, 50). Below is an analysis of these lists as they relate to Knight's 1862 statement.

Some of the lists name those *present* at the church's organization but not who the *founding members* were. For instance, Brigham Young lists "the names of those present at the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1830 on the 6 day of April" and includes then-unbaptized Joseph Smith, Sr., and Orrin Rockwell (Brigham Young Journal, entry of 7 October 1843, 43, cited in R. L. Anderson 1980, 44). Similarly, the McLellin and Turner lists include Joseph Smith, Sr., Lucy Smith, and Joseph Knight, Sr., all non-members at the time. Clearly, these lists do not attempt to name the founders.

The lists produced by David Whitmer have been especially misunderstood (Porter 1971, 249; R. L. Anderson 1980). Whitmer attempted to name those he believed had been ordained "elders" prior to 6 April. In his 1887 interview with Edward Stevenson, he named the "6 elders" present at the organization as Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, Peter Whitmer, Jr., Hyrum Smith, and David Whitmer (VI.A.31, DAVID WHITMER INTERVIEW WITH EDWARD STEVENSON, 2 JAN 1887).[3] Later in 1887, he named the "six Elders" ordained by August 1829 as Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, Samuel Smith, Hyrum Smith, and

---

2. A second copy of Knight's statement, in the hand of John V. Long, was pasted onto page 36 of Joseph Smith's Manuscript History of the Church, Book A-1, sometime after 11 August 1862 (Jessee 1989, 302; JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 83).

3. In his 1877 interview with David Whitmer, Edward Stevenson recorded that Whitmer named those "present" at the organization: Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, Hyrum Smith, John Whitmer, and Christian Whitmer.

David Whitmer (VI.A.33, DAVID WHITMER, *ADDRESS,* 1887, 32-33). In an 1881 statement, he named the *seven* "first elders" in the church: Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, Hyrum Smith, John Whitmer, Peter Whitmer, and David Whitmer) (VI.A.12, DAVID WHITMER INTERVIEW WITH *KANSAS CITY JOURNAL,* 1 JUN 1881).

His purpose in naming six or seven elders was to bolster his anti-institutional interpretation of the restored church. He argued in 1887: "It is all a mistake about the church being *organized* on April 6, 1830. ... We were as fully *organized*—spiritually—before April 6th as we were on that day. ... There were six elders and about seventy members before April 6th, and the same number of elders and members after that day. We attended to our business of organizing, according to the laws of the land, the church acknowledging us six elders as their ministers" (VI.A.33, DAVID WHITMER, *ADDRESS,* 1887, 33). Whitmer's lists of "elders" should, therefore, not be confused with Joseph Knight, Jr.'s, naming of six founding "members." In addition, Whitmer erred regarding some of those he claimed were elders before 6 April. Samuel Smith was not ordained until the 9 June conference at Fayette; at the same conference, Hyrum Smith was ordained a priest, Martin Harris was recognized as a priest, and Christian Whitmer was listed as a teacher (see VI.G.2, FAR WEST RECORD, 9 JUN 1830, 26 SEP 1830 & 2 JAN 1831, under 9 June 1830). Thus at the time of organization, there were six, perhaps seven, "members" but not six elders. An examination of Whitmer's statements indicates that he likely mistook the 9 June conference, which boasted the presence of six elders (Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, and Ziba Peterson), for the 6 April organization (see ibid., under 9 June 1830; and I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 82).

If Whitmer confused the two meetings, those who helped compile Joseph Smith's history were similarly mistaken. In describing the 6 April organization, Smith's history originally included elements from the 9 June conference, stating that there were present "about 30 in number who were believing" (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, DRAFT:9). When the compilers realized their error, this statement was changed to, "[W]e met together ... being six in number," and other elements were crossed out and moved to the account of the 9 June conference (cf. ibid. with I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 37, 41). The question arises as to how the compilers arrived at six members of the church at the time. According to Smith's history, six people were baptized prior to 6 April: Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery (15 May 1829), Samuel Smith (25 May 1829), and Hyrum Smith, David Whitmer, and Peter Whitmer, Jr. (June 1829) (ibid., 17-18, 19, 23). While there may have been more than six baptisms prior to the or-

ganization (John Whitmer's in June 1829; see L. Cook 1981, 25), the compilers may have nevertheless relied on what had been previously written in Smith's history in assigning a number to the founding membership.

Joseph Knight, Jr.'s, 1862 statement names the same six that Smith's history describes as having been baptized prior to the church's organization. Five days later, Knight again listed the same men in a brief history (see IV.A.5, JOSEPH KNIGHT, JR., HISTORY, 16 AUG 1862). He names Oliver Cowdery, who had died twelve years earlier, as his source. It is unclear what prompted him to make this 1862 statement, but he may have been urged by those in the Church Historian's Office to fill in the gap in Smith's history. Indeed, Knight's statement was witnessed by George A. Smith, Robert L. Campbell, Thomas Bullock, and John V. Long, all of the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City. The manuscript of Joseph Smith's history was completed in 1856, but John V. Long copied Knight's statement and appended it to the Manuscript History (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 83), and it now appears as a footnote in the printed history (J. Smith 1948, 1:76).

Names of the six members of the church as they were organized April 6, 1830: Fayette, Seneca Co. New York.[4]

Oliver Cowdery
Joseph Smith Jun.
Hyrum Smith
Peter Whitmer Jun.
Samuel H. Smith
David Whitmer.

Some of these had been baptized previously; but were all baptized on the day of organization.[5] These names were given to Joseph Knight by Oliver Cowdery.

---

4. The location of the event was evidently not part of Knight's information, which was second-hand in any case and, rather, the assumption of the creators of the document. The ink and the writing appear to be slightly different for the words: "Fayette, Seneca Co. New York." This might explain its absence in John V. Long's copy in the Manuscript History (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 83).

5. The claim that the six founding members were rebaptized is evidently not part of Knight's information but reflects the assumptions of the creators of the document. The claim rests on the false belief that all six members were pres-

[s] Joseph Knight [Jr.]

Great Salt Lake City
Aug. 11, 1862

Witnesses
[s] Geo. A. Smith
[s] Robt. L. Campbell
[s] Thomas Bullock
[s] John V. Long

---

ent at the organization. When the compilers of the history corrected the statement that there were thirty members present to read six members, they retained the literary structure that had originally described the 9 June conference and therefore carried over the idea that the entire church was present. The organizational meeting, which occurred in Manchester, New York, was conducted without the Whitmers (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, nn. 82, 83). Additionally, a revelation instructing rebaptism (D&C 22), dated "April 1830" in Smith's history, was evidently received on 16 April in Fayette, New York, and probably pertained to those who had previously been baptized into other denominations (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 91).

5.
JOSEPH KNIGHT, JR., HISTORY, 16 AUGUST 1862

Joseph Knight, Jr., "Joseph Knight's incidents of history from 1827 to 1844/ Aug. 16, 1862/compiled from loose sheets/in J[oseph]. K[night].'s possession/T[homas]. B[ullock].," Joseph Knight, Jr., File, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Joseph Knight, Jr.'s, historical sketch consists of four pages written on two sheets, apparently in Thomas Bullock's handwriting and signed by Knight (Bitton 1977, 198). It covers his life to 1846, but only the New York period has been reproduced below.[1]

Joseph Knight, Jun. Born in Halifax, Windham Co., Vermont, 21st June 1808. my father moved to Chenango Co., [New] York state in December 1808. In a few years he bought a farm on the Susquehannah river, in Broome, Co., 20 miles above the great bend,[2] built a grist mill and two carding machines. I was raised to work in them. My father bought three other farms and hired many hands; in 1827 [1826] he hired Joseph Smith; Joseph and I worked and slept together. my Father said Joseph was the best hand he ever hired. we found him a boy of truth, he was about 21 years of age. I think it was in November [1826] he made known to my Father and I, that he had seen a vision, that a personage had appeared to him and told him <where> there was a gold book of ancient date buried, and if he would follow the directions of the Angel he could get it. we were told it in secret; I being the youngest son, my two older brothers did not believe in such things[3]; my Father and I believed what he told us, I think we were the first after his father's family; he went to see them, but did not go as he was told so he could not get

---

1. On Joseph Knight, Jr. (1808-66), see introduction to IV.A.4, JOSEPH KNIGHT, JR., STATEMENT, 11 AUG 1862.

2. According to land records, the farm was deeded on 24 June 1811 (Deeds, Liber 3, 36-37, Broome County Clerk's Office, Binghamton, New York; Porter 1971, 184).

3. Nahum and Newel Knight eventually converted (Porter 1971, 184, n. 25).

them; as my Father has given the particulars I will skip over; at last he got the plates, and rode in my Father's wagon and carried them home.[4]

I left my Father, purchased a building spot adjoining my Father's and began to work for myself, and nearly ready to build a large house. Joseph had commenced to translate the plates, he told my Father he wanted fifty dollars; my Father could not raise it; he then came to me, the same day I sold my house lot and sent him a one horse wagon. Father and I often went to see him and carry him something to live upon. at last Oliver Cowdery came to write for him,[5] then he got along faster, after many trials and troubles he got it wrote off. by this time my Mother and many of my relations believed; the book of Mormon was printed. the church was organized April 6, 1830 with six members.[6] my father was not there.[7] Oliver was baptized by Joseph, then Oliver baptized Joseph, then Hyrum Smith, [p. 1] Peter Whitmer, Samuel Smith, David Whitmer.

then a few others.[8] they came to Colesville in May 1830 where we lived, and Oliver baptized my Father's family and a few of my relatives.[9] when we were going from the water, we were met by many of our neighbors, pointing at us and asking if we had been washing sheep. before Joseph could confirm us he was taken by the officers to Shenango Co. for trial,[10] for saying that the Book of Mormon was a revelation from God; my father em-

---

4. Regarding Joseph Smith's use of Joseph Knight, Sr.'s, wagon, see IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847; I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:60-61.

5.Cowdery and Smith began working on the translation together on 7 April 1829.

6. See IV.A.4, JOSEPH KNIGHT, JR., STATEMENT, 11 AUG 1862.

7. On the contrary, Joseph Knight, Sr., in his own history, claimed to have been present in Manchester when the church was organized and to have witnessed the baptisms of Joseph Smith, Sr., and Martin Harris (see IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 6-7). Moreover, Joseph Smith received a revelation for Joseph Knight, Sr., dated 6 April 1830, Manchester, New York (BofC XXI, heading; cf. D&C 23).

8. Knight's statement regarding those baptized on 6 April rests on questionable authority (see IV.A.4, JOSEPH KNIGHT, JR., STATEMENT, 11 AUG 1862, n. 5).

9. Newel Knight was baptized by David Whitmer in May 1830 at Fayette, New York (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 41); other family members were baptized by Oliver Cowdery on 28 June in Colesville (ibid., 43).

10. Smith was evidently arrested on 30 June and tried at South Bainbridge the following day (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 44-45).

ployed two Lawyers[11] to plead for him and cleared him; that night our wagons were turned over and wood piled on them, and some sunk in the water, rails were piled against our doors, and chains sunk in the stream and a great deal of mischief done. Before Joseph got to my Father's house he was taken again, to be tried in Broome Co.[12] Father employed the same lawyers who cleared him there; four weeks passed before Joseph could get a chance to confirm us, then we had the greatest time I ever saw. the house was filled with the Holy Ghost which rested upon us.[13]

In the fall of 1830 we had a revelation to go to the State of Ohio,[14] the persecution was so great that my Father and Joseph [Smith] started in the Winter, with my Sleigh, which cost me fifty dollars. the rest of us staid til Spring and sold what property we could; Hyrum Smith was with us. the 1st April I started on foot and alone to tell some of the brethren on the road, who had joined through the fall and winter. In 1831 we met at Ithaca and came to Buffalo together and stopt there on account of ice. I and a few others started on foot to prepare a place in Ohio; we travelled 40 miles, west on board a steamboat, landed at Fairport near the mouth of Grand river; we went to Kirtland, Ohio, and commenced preparing house on a brother's land who had a thousand acres, my folks came on, they were called the Colesville church. ... [p. 2]

[s] Joseph Knight [p. 4]

---

11. James Davidson and John S. Reed (see IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 8).

12. See I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 45-47.

13. It is uncertain when the confirmations occurred, but it was after Smith's letter of 28 August 1830 explaining his delay (see I.A.3, JOSEPH SMITH TO COLESVILLE SAINTS, 28 AUG 1830), and soon after Newel and Sally Knight's 4 September 1830 visit to Harmony, Pennsylvania (see BofC XXVIII, heading; cf. D&C 27).

14. The earliest known revelation commanding the Saints to move to Ohio was given in December 1830, after the arrival of Sidney Rigdon in Fayette, New York (D&C 37).

B.
Stowell Family
COLLECTION

1.
JOSIAH STOWELL, JR., TO JOHN S. FULLMER, 17 FEBRUARY 1843

Josiah Stowell, Jr., to John S. Fullmer, 17 February 1843, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Josiah Stowell, Jr. (1809-1875), youngest of eight children born to Josiah and Miriam Stowell, was raised on a farm about two miles southwest of South Bainbridge (now Afton), New York. He states in the letter that he went to school "one winter" with Joseph Smith when Smith was "about 20 years old or there about," probably in the winter of 1825-26. Stowell also states that he was intimately acquainted with Smith "about 2 years." Josiah Jr. did not believe in Smith's religious claims, although he did not believe him to be a bad man. His opinion differed from that of his older brothers who were evidently angry about Smith's influence with their father and were partly responsible for bringing charges against him in March 1826 (see IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877). By 1840, Josiah Jr. was living in Tioga Township, Tioga County, New York, at which time his father was evidently living with him (Porter 1971, 209). When he wrote the present letter, he was living in Chemung, Chemung County, New York, where at age thirty-nine, he is listed in the 1850 census along with his wife Martha (1850:76); they are absent from the 1860 New York census. He died on 15 June 1875 at Sugar Run, Pennsylvania (Stowell 1922, 428).

Writing from Cambria, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, on 10 February 1843, John S. Fullmer (1807-83),[1] then serving a mission for the LDS

1. John S. Fullmer, son of Peter and Susannah (Zerfass) Fullmer, was born in Huntington, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. He was appointed an elder at a church conference in October 1839 and sometime after December 1841 was sent on a mission to northern Pennsylvania (see Jessee 1984, 497-500, 503-504, 688). He returned to Nauvoo by 26 June 1844, at which time he spent the night with Joseph Smith in Carthage Jail. He also served a mission in Britain from 1852 to 1855. He died at Springville, Utah (J. Smith 1948, 4:12-13, 6:600; Bitton 1977, 115; Jessee 1992, 546; Amhurst-McGee 1999, 110, 115-16, nn. 13, 14).

church in northern Pennsylvania, sought information from Stowell about Joseph Smith. Fullmer's letter follows[2]:

Cambria, Luzerne Co. Penn.
February 10th 1843

Josiah Stowell Jr. Esq.
Elmyra N.Y.

Dear Sir,

I hope you will pardon ~~pardon~~ me for the liberty I am taking in addressing you this letter, which is intended, not as an obtrusion, but to elicit a statement of facts which came under your own personal observation, or such as you know to be facts from circumstance with which you are well acquainted, relative to the youthful, and also more matured character of Joseph Smith Jun.<,>[3] your play mate and school fellow, but now leader of the "Latter day Saints."

I have been laboring now for some weeks in this section of the Country, by way of preaching the gospe[l] as understood by the said Smith and others, and find here a great deal of opposition & persecution, in consequence of the reputed bad character of Mr. Smith in his youth, and the consequent deception <it is said> he is practising upon the public.

Being convinced of the great injustice done him everywhere in alleging charges of the most haineus ch[ar]=acter against him, which are verily believed by the people here, and greatly to the prejudice of the spread of the gospel in this section; and having recently had an opportunity of conversing with you, (while at your house together with Mr. Bird) on the subject and learned that you were his youthful companion, and had, on many occasions, defended his character from the fulsome abuse of the slanderer; I cannot forbear to solicit from <you> a statement of such things as you feel warranted in making in his defence and in defence of the truth, & more especially as you are not a member of the <church.>

It is here stated and verily believed, that he, Smith, was a gambler,[4] a

---

2. The following transcription is taken from what appears to be Fullmer's original copy, housed in the LDS Church Archives. A note on the reverse side states: "Copy of a Letter / to / Josiah Stowell." Fullmer's letter of inquiry and Stowell's response were both published in the *Church News* (12 May 1985): 10; and in Ashurst-McGee 1999.

3. This insertion and the one following are written in pencil.

4. At the time, the meaning of "gambler" included "a cheating gamester, sharpe, knave" (Webster 1806, 128). See also Young et al., 1853-86, 4:77-78.

Black leg,[5] a notorious horse jockey,[6] an adept at the slight offhand or juggling,[7] and was notorious for frequenting grogshops, and intemperance, and that he was also exceedingly profane, &c. &c. Now<,> if this matter can be answered to the satisfaction of some half [p. 1] a Dozen persons in this neighborhood, it would have quite a beneficial effect here; besides, it would be a vindication of the character and reputation of one who is receiving more than his share of misrepresentation and abuse. I have openly and boldly denied these char=ges, and although not required to prove a negative, have <still> agreed to do so in several instances, which if I can do, through you, will set this matter at rest in this place.

I hope you will take the trouble, (if you think me reasonable in requesting it,) to answer in reply to those charges as soon as circumstances will posibly admit of your doing so; ~~and~~ <I should be pleased to have you> make also such general remarks as the occasion seems to require. I should be pleased also to have the old gentleman, your father, subscribe to as much of your reply as he is knowing to.

Address to Cambria &c. as above.

Give my compliments to all that I had the pleasure of seeing at y[ou]r. house. & to Mr. Bird, should you see him.

Very Respectfully

Jno: S. Fullmer

P.S. I would gladly pay the postage on this letter, but tell the truth *I have not got it.* am laboring with<out> purse or scrip, & without compensation, only such good as I may be the means of doing while on my Mission. <& may God bless you and yours.> Send yours without paying postage.

J.S.F.

Stowell responded with the following. The letter's cover page reads:

---

5. A "black leg" was a "swindler," especially at horse races (see Ashurst-McGee 1999, 116, n. 26).

6. By "horse jockey" was meant "a dealer in horses; one who makes it his business to buy and sell horses for gain" and "[a] cheat; one who deceives or takes undue advantage in trade" (Webster 1828, s.v. "jockey"; cited in Ashurst-McGee 1999, 116, n. 27). Brigham Young mentioned hearing accusations in 1832 that Joseph Smith was a "horse-jockey" and a horse thief (Young et al. 1853-86, 8:15).

7. "Juggling" was "the act of playing tricks, deceit" (Webster 1806, 168). See IV.C.1, JOHN SHERER TO ABSALOM PETERS, 18 NOV 1830, n. 2.

"J. S. Fullmer Esq / Cambria / Luzerne Co. / PA / Post Corners NY / Feb 18th," and was postmarked at twelve and a half cents.

Chemung Feb 17th 1843

Mr J S Fullmer

I rec[eive]d yours of the 10 Feb on the 14th and have binn So Busy that I could not answer it until now & now I will as nere as I Can at this time[.] you well know tis a Perplexing time for business men & My mind is fully Engaged in my business on ac[coun]t of the great derangement of the Currency[.][8] I will give you a Short history of what I know about Joseph Smith Jr I have binn Intemetely acquainted with him about 2 years[.][9] he then was about 20 years old or there about[.] I also went to schoal with him one winter[.][10] he was a fine likely young man & at that time did not Profess religion[.] he was not a Profain man although I did once in a while hear him sware[.] he never gambled to my knowledge[.] I Do not believe he Ever did[.] I well know he was no Hoars Jocky for he was no Judge of Hoarses I Sold him one[.][11] that is all I ever knewd he dealt in the kind I never new him to git drunk I believe he would now and then take a glass[.][12] he never Pretend=ed to Play the Slight of hand nor Black leg, it was fashionable at that time to drink Liquor[.] I do not Believe in any religion & there fore am friendly to all I Believe that there is a heaven & hell & those that do not right

---

8. Andrew Jackson's 1836 disestablishment of the Bank of the United States and the subsequent flood of local currency created an unstable situation (see Amhurst-McGee 1999, 117 n. 32).

9. Probably from about November 1825, when Smith came to work for Josiah Stowell, Sr., to January 1827, when Smith left the area following his marriage to Emma Hale in South Bainbridge. Smith was nineteen when he first met Josiah Jr. and twenty-one when he married Emma. John S. Reed, another resident of South Bainbridge, also said Smith lived in the "neighborhood" for about "two years" (IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844). D. Michael Quinn is probably mistaken in his assertion that the Stowells met Smith in 1823 (Quinn 1998, 49, 55-56). See also note 13 below.

10. At his March 1826 court hearing, Joseph Smith mentioned going to school in South Bainbridge (see IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826).

11. In a 22 October 1829 letter to Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Smith mentioned buying a horse from Josiah Stowell, Sr. (see I.A.1, JOSEPH SMITH TO OLIVER COWDERY, 22 OCT 1829).

12. On Joseph Smith's drinking, see III.A.2, BARTON STAFFORD STATEMENT, 3 NOV 1833, n. 4.

here through there lives will be damn=ed but still I believe I do right myself[.] I State this for facts that any thing from waht I have Said about Joseph Smith that is wors[e] than I Say is fals & untrue [p. 1]

I am fraid you Cannot read what I have Wrote my penn is Poor I am in a glassy & tired after doing a hard Days work

I am yours truly
Josiah Stowell Jr.

NB
I now write you for my father he Says what I have wrote you is true & he has binn acquainted with him 6 years[13] & he never knew any thing of him but what was right als[o] knew him to be a Seer & a Prophet & Believe the Book of Mormon to be ~~strue~~ true[,] & all ~~tho~~ these Stories is fals & untrue that is told about Joseph Smith

I am yours truly & Reply
you[r] Brother in the Church of Latter day Saints

Josiah Stowell
By J Stowell Jr

13. Stowell's six-year acquaintance with Smith likely spans from October 1825, when he first met Smith in Manchester, to January 1831, when Smith left New York. Stowell may have extended the period of his acquaintance to include a possible brief visit to Ohio (IV.D.14, SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY AFFIDAVIT, 27 MAR 1903). D. Michael Quinn's assertion that Stowell first met Smith in 1823 is probably wrong. In supporting his assertion, Quinn places unwarranted restrictions on Stowell's being "acquainted" with Smith, arguing that Stowell's "close association" pertained only to the latter's various residences in the Susquehanna area (1823-1829), which Quinn thinks ended in June 1829 when Smith moved from Harmony to Fayette (Quinn 1998, 49, 395, n. 166). Quinn is unaware that Smith returned to Harmony in October 1829, not June 1830 (see I.A.1, JOSEPH SMITH TO OLIVER COWDERY, 22 OCT 1829), and did not leave permanently until September 1830 (see BofC XXVIII, heading).

2.
MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DECEMBER 1843

Martha Campbell to Joseph Smith, 19 December 1843, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Joseph Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Josiah Stowell requested Martha Campbell (1806-?) to write the present letter on his behalf. Campbell, a member of the church living in Elmira, Chemung County, New York, was baptized there on 9 August 1835 ("Journal History," 6 July 1835; Porter 1971, 210, n. 97). The letter is postmarked 21 December 1843 and addressed to: "Joseph Smith / Nauvoo[,] Hankock Co / Illinois."

Stowell (1770-184?) was born in Winchester, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, and he and his wife, Miriam Bridgeman Stowell, were the parents of eight children. About 1791, Stowell moved from southeastern Vermont to Chenango County, New York, where he opened a farm and sawmill on the Susquehanna River about two miles southeast of South Bainbridge (now Afton). He had extensive land holdings in Chenango County. In 1826, for instance, he was assessed for 416 acres at a value of $2,085 (Assessment Records, 29 July 1826, Bainbridge Town Hall, Bainbridge, New York). In religion, he was described as having been "educated in the spirit of orthodox puritanism, and ... officially connected with the first Presbyterian Church of the town," apparently serving as a deacon (IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877; see also IV.D.3, *BAINBRIDGE* [NY] *REPUBLICAN,* 23 AUG 1877). In October 1825 Stowell hired Joseph Smith to use his seer stone in search of buried Spanish treasure in northern Pennsylvania. During Smith's 1826 and 1830 court hearings, Stowell defended Smith's ability to see hidden treasure through his stone. Stowell was evidently baptized and a believer in Mormonism, although the date and details of his baptism have been illusive (Porter 1971, 207-8).[1]

---

1. Abram W. Benton referred to Stowell as a "Mormonite" (IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831), and Frederick G. Mather said Stowell had become a Mormon (IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE

Judging by the tone of the present letter, he apparently continued to believe in Smith's claims throughout his life, expressing a desire to visit Nauvoo and "renew his covenant with the Lord." In 1835 Stowell moved to Smithboro, Tioga County, New York, where he died, probably soon after the present letter was written (Porter 1971, 174-79; Jessee 1984, 667 n. 15; Jessee 1989, 517; Gay 1888, 471).

Elmira December 19th 1843

Brother Smith by the request of Brother Stowell I now set down to write [to] you[.] he is quite unwell & is some times fearfull that he cannot stand it through the winter & wishes me to say to you that he wants your prayers & the prayers of all the saints for the recovery of his health to in able him to gather among the Saints & he also wishes to know if you could receive him as a brother[.] he says he shall come out [to Nauvoo] next spring if he lives & has health to indure the journey he says if he remains as well as at present he shall venture to star[t][.] he says he never staggard at the foundation of the work for he knew to[o] mutch concerning it[.] if I understood him wright he was the first person that took the Plates out of your hands the morni<n>g you brought them in[2] & observed ["]blessed is he that seeth & believeth & more blessed is he that believeth without seeing["] & says he has seen & believed[.] he seems anxious to get there [Nauvoo] to renew his covenant with the Lord[3] he wishes you to say to him whether aspan [pair] of good horses & waggon could be put to any use so as to bring in something for his support I suppose[.] he says he has propperty here & two hundred dollars near that place that is due[.] he says he can support himself he feels as tho he has neglected his privilige of living with the saint[s] he wants to see you he feels as tho he cannot leave time to enter a boundless eternity without seeing Nauvoo he is verry much discourag=ed his friends think he cannot live lon-

---

INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880). The *Harpersville Budget & Nineveh Standard* for 16 February 1887 states: "It has been stated that Hezekiah Stowell joined the Mormons and lost his property; this is a mistake it being Josiah Stowell" (p. 1).

2. Several days after removing the plates from the hill, Joseph Smith brought them to the family residence (see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:63-66). William and Katharine Smith also reported that they handled them, while they were wrapped in a coat, on the day Smith brought them home (e.g., I.D.4, WILLIAM SMITH, *ON MORMONISM,* 1883, 12; and I.E.3, HERBERT S. SALISBURY REMINISCENCES, 1945 & 1954).

3. The date and details of Stowell's baptism are unknown (Porter 1971, 207-208).

ger than spring but the Lord is able to restore him to comfortable health he thinks if he was at Nauvoo he should be healed [p. 1] immediately[.] he thinks your pray[e]rs will do him good he needs the milk of the church[.] it is his request you should wright to him immediately[.] do wright to him[.] it would be verry consoling to him he wishes if you wright if you wright you would direct it to Martha L. Campbell[,] Elmira, Chemung Co NY I shall have an opportunity almost any day to send it to him he wishes me to say to you that he takes the times & seasons with me we each sent a dollar[4] he gave me strict chur [stricture?] to say to you his faith is good concerning the work o[f] the Lord he has ever manifested good feelings toward you & your Fathers family & also the Church Brother Stowell sent for Sister Demarest[5] & myself to come & see him. wee had not ben there long before Delrimple[6] (formerly from Binghampton) came in & a member with him & soon the conversation turned upon what the world calls Mormonism & the Lord filled the mouthe of those present untill the Old adversary began to spout & rail & Delrimple said you [Smith] ought to be in States prison & said you would have ben there had it not ben for him [Stowell] & he wondered why he did not send you[.] Josiah Stowell said he knew verry well why he did not because you [Mormon haters] had him [Smith] before Esq Chamberlin three days[7] & you could not make out the first thing that the Law could take hold of him for[.] I mention this so you may know the feelings of the Mr. Stowells[.] Josiah says he cannot see anything why ~~it~~ <the work> is not true I do not recollect the old gentlemans given name but I suppose you will know as he was a friend of yours in Binghampton [p. 2]

Brother Smith we have one request in our behalf[.] we do earnestly solicit your prayers for us in regard to our health & also to besech the Lord for us that he may open the way for us to come up to Zion the next season for to meet with the saints would be a delicious morsel I assure you the privilege of

---

4. Stowell and Campbell had a joint subscription to the *Times and Seasons,* which was two dollars per year.

5. Perhaps the wife of Richard Demarest, the only Demarest listed in the 1840 census of Tioga, Tioga County, New York.

6. Possibly Ansel Delrimple, the only Delrimple listed in the 1850 census of Tioga County, New York.

7. Stowell's claim that Joseph Smith was "before Esq Chamberlin three days" is incorrect. He appeared before Justice Chamberlin in South Bainbridge on 1 July 1830 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 44-45; IV.F.4, JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JUL 1830) and on the following day appeared before Justice Noble in Colesville (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 45-47).

assembling to hear the word of the Lord would be sweet it is hard wading through the hard spirits of the opposers of the Lord they are filled with lie[i]ng Spirits.

Martha L. Campbell

3.
LYMAN STOWELL REMINISCENCE, 1901

The Biographical Record of Henry County, Illinois (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1901), 714.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Lyman Stowell (?-1899) was a nephew of Josiah Stowell. He met Joseph Smith while staying at his uncle's, probably during the winter of 1825-26. Lyman moved to Prophetstown, Illinois, sometime before 1843, when he was married to Sarah Leach. Concerning Stowell, the *Biographical Record of Henry County, Illinois* states: "He was the first justice of the peace in Yorktown township and held that position a number of years. He also served as township collector and school director, taking a great interest in educational matters. Prior to his marriage he engaged in teaching school for a number of years. ... He was a member of the Methodist Church, being converted under the ministry of Rev. Barton Cartwright in 1855. He died December 31, 1899, honored and respected by all who knew him" (1901, 714).

... In his [Lyman Stowell] youth he was a schoolmate of Joseph Smith,[1] the Mormon Prophet, who was killed at Carthage, Illinois, in 1844, and both boarded with the former's uncle, Josiah Stowell. It was there that he overheard the planning of the Mormon bible after the discovery of the Uram and Thumim, the glasses and engraved tablets, and he used to relate many interesting stories of Smith and his followers. One day he found the prophet in the wood house searching earnestly, Smith explaining that he had lost one of the magic glasses, which he alleged enabled the wearer to discover hidden treasures, as well as to translate the tablets of the book of Mormon. Mr. Stowell wanted to know why he did not take the other glass and find the one that was lost, but received no satisfactory reply. Smith used to take his adherents out at night and search for hidden treasures, one of the essentials being that no word was to be spoken during the search. Often Mr. Stowell and his comrades who were not under the prophet's influence, would follow them and watch their endeavors, but the charm would always be broken by some incautions [in-

---

1. Joseph Smith probably went to school in Chenango County in the winter of 1825-26 (see also IV.B.1, JOSIAH STOWELL, JR., TO JOHN S. FULLMER, 17 FEB 1843).

cautious] exclamation on the part of the searchers or by interference of the boys. As he overheard the planning of the Mormon bible, Mr. Stowell in later years often wondered how Smith gained so many followers. ...

C.
Miscellaneous Early
SOURCES

1.
JOHN SHERER TO ABSALOM PETERS, 18 NOVEMBER 1830

John Sherer to Absalom Peters, 18 November 1830, American Home Missionary Society Archives, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

EDITORIAL NOTE

John Sherer (1791-?), who was a graduate of Andover and received his ordination in 1825, was commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society on 1 February 1830 to serve as pastor of the churches at Colesville and Sanford, New York, for a twelve-month period (Walters 1984, 24). He soon became alarmed by the growth of Mormonism in Colesville, particularly when it meant losing members of his church. In late June 1830 Sherer worked to prevent the baptism of young Emily Colburn, sister of Newel Knight's wife, Sally. As Joseph Smith and others gathered at Joseph Knight's home in Colesville in preparation for a baptismal meeting, the Reverend Sherer, in conspiracy with Colburn family members, approached them and attempted to forcibly abduct Emily, who had been a member of the Presbyterian Church in Sanford since about 1828. A determined Sally Knight stepped forward to prevent the abduction, but the following morning Emily's brother-in-law arrived with a power of attorney signed by Amasa Colburn, Emily's father, which authorized him to return Emily to her family. This prevented Emily from being baptized with her sister and other Knight family members on 28-29 June. Emily was taken to her brother Esick Lyon Colburn's residence in Sanford and disciplined by the Presbyterian church there. Despite the efforts of Sherer and the Colburn family, Emily returned to Colesville in the autumn of 1830 and was baptized a Mormon. She remained in the church for about ten years before renouncing Mormonism (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 42-43; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 54-55; IV.D.7, EMILY [COLBURN] AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 38-48; Porter 1971, 199-201; Bushman 1984, 160).

On 18 November 1830 the Reverend John Sherer wrote to Absalom Peters of the American Home Missionary Society headquartered in Boston, with a district office in Geneva, New York, in which he described the growth of Mormonism and reflected on the Emily Colburn affair. The cover

of the letter reads: "Rev. John Sherer[.] Colesville, Broome Co. / N.Y. Report of labors[.] Nov. 18[,] 1830 / 975 / Colesville November 20[,] 1830 / Rev. Absalom Peters / Cor[respondence]. Secretary of the / A[merican]. H[ome]. M[issionary]. Society New York / Rec[eived]. Nov. 25 / (94) / (Ex.)," and a handwritten postage mark of 18 3/4 cents.

Colesville, Nov: 18: 1830.

Rev & Dear

Sir

This report will be brief. Nothing that I can communicate will give interest in the perusal. Politicks & casualties make up the greatest share of interest that is felt. The feeling that was manifest when I wrote last has nearly subsided. A few hopeful subjects of grace have been the result. It seems as if under God, more might have shared, if suitable means could have been employed. Of the subjects the greatest share are among the Meth=odists. A few it is hoped will unite them=selves with the Presbyterian church. The number of converts I do not certainly know, but probably somewhere about twenty. Unless a new impulse can be given[,] the work [p. 1] is likely to subside.—I will relate a circumstance that has given me pain. A member of the church in Sandford, a young female,[1] has renounced her connexion with the church, and joined ~~a church~~ <another> in Colesville founded by Joseph Smith. This man has been known, in these parts, for some time, as a kind of juggler,[2] who has pretended, through a glass, to see money under ground &c, &c.[3] The book, on which he founds his new religion, is called the "Book of Mormon." It contains not much, and is rather calculated to suit the marvelous, and unthinking. ~~part of the world.~~ No man in his right mind can think the Book or the doctrines it contains, worthy of the least notice, yet there are a number who profess to believe in it. Since the church was formed, which

---

1. Emily Colburn.

2. "[O]ne who juggles, a cheat, a deceiver" (Webster 1806, 168). See IV.B.1, JOSIAH STOWELL, JR., TO JOHN S. FULLMER, 17 FEB 1843, n. 7.

3. Regarding Joseph Smith's use of a seer stone in hunting for buried treasure, see e.g., IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831; IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877; IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826; and IV.F.2, ALBERT NEELY BILL OF COSTS, 1826.

was some time in July,[4] about twenty have gathered around their standard, and have [p. 2] subscribed themselves to be the followers [of] Christ; for they call themselves a church of Christ, and the only church of Christ. All professing christians who do not adhere to their system, they consider as formalists; "having the form of Godliness, but denying the power." They have pretended to work miracles, such as casting out devils,[5] and many other things, too blasphemous to mention.—It is believed, however, they have [atta]ined to about the zenith of their glory in this place. Their books remain unsold; <except> [-] here and there an individual, none will buy them. It is thought the great speculation, which they probably anticipated, will prove a losing busi=ness. May the Lord speedily turn their counsels headlong, and deliver those, whose feet have been taken in their snare.—I shall give, in my next, a particular account of my whole field of labor. As it respects the Temperance <camp>, only say, it is gradually gain[in]g ground. One instance I will relate when the councils of opposers have ~~turned against themselves~~. <been turned into foolishness.> A member of the church, not of the Presbyterian, made a Bee to pick up stones, and one of his brethren got drunk, [*remainder of letter written sideways on last page*] & two of the young men fought. These persons begin to be ashamed of their folly. Yours in Bonds of christian Affection.

John Sherer

4. Actually, the Colesville church was formed on 28 June 1830 when the Knight family and others were baptized.

5. Probably a reference to Joseph Smith's exorcism of Newel Knight in April 1830 (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 39-41; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 58-61; and III.E.3, *PALMYRA REFLECTOR,* 1829-1831, under 30 June 1830).

2.
ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MARCH 1831

[Abram W. Benton], "Mormonites," *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate* (Utica, New York) 2 (9 April 1831): 120.

EDITORIAL NOTE

This document is the earliest known printed reference to Joseph Smith's 1826 court hearing in South Bainbridge, New York. Brought to light by the diligent Dale L. Morgan in the mid-1940s (Kirkham 1951, 2:466), it is a letter addressed to the editors of the *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate,* a Universalist weekly, dated South Bainbridge, March 1831, and signed "A. W. B." Subsequent letters published in the same periodical identify this individual as "A. W. Benton" or Abram Willard Benton of South Bainbridge, New York (Brodie 1945, 441; J. P. Walker 1986, 336). Abram Willard Benton (1805-67), a physician and member of the Chenango County Medical Society, lived in South Bainbridge until about 1838 when he moved to Sterling, Illinois. In 1852 he became director of the Mississippi and Rock River Railroad. He died in Fulton, Whiteside County, Illinois (H. P. Smith 1885, 144; Walters 1977, 123, n. 7; Jessee 1989, 473).

He not only briefly describes Joseph Smith's court examination of March 1826, but also the first of two later court hearings of July 1830 in South Bainbridge and Colesville. According to Smith, it was "a young man named Benton" who "swore out the first warrent against me" in 1830 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 44-48). While most commentators have assumed that Smith referred to Abram W. Benton, Morgan argued that it was Orange Benton, Abram's brother, since the author of the present letter "was clearly a Universalist, whereas Joseph Smith declares the other Benton to have been of the Presbyterian faith" (J. P. Walker 1986, 336). Morgan was unaware of Joseph Knight's statement that the person responsible for Smith's 1830 arrest was "a young fellow By the name of Docter Benton" (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 8). In addition, Morgan offers no evidence that Orange was a Presbyterian, nor am I aware of any evidence that he was a physician. In Smith's zeal to place blame for his early persecutions on the Presbyterians, he may have been mistaken about Benton's religious affiliation.

ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MARCH 1831

Messrs. Editors—In the sixth number of your paper I saw a notice of a sect of people called Mormonites[1]; and thinking that a fuller history of their founder, Joseph Smith, jr., might be interesting to [the] community, and particularly to your correspondent in Ohio, where, perhaps, the truth concerning him may be hard to come at, I will take the trouble to make a few remarks on the character of that infamous impostor. For several years preceding the appearance of his book, he was about the country in the character of a glass-looker[2]: pretending, by means of a certain stone, or glass, which he put in a hat, to be able to discover lost goods, hidden treasures, mines of gold and silver, &c. Although he constantly failed in his pretensions, still he had his dupes who put implicit confidence in all his words. In this town, a wealthy farmer, named Josiah Stowell,[3] together with others, spent large sums of money in digging for hidden money, which this Smith pretended he could see, and told them where to dig; but they never found their treasure.[4] At length the public, becoming wearied with the base imposition which he was palming upon the credulity of the ignorant, for the purpose of sponging his living from their earnings, had him arrested as a disorderly person,[5] tried and

---

1. The item referred to is a report about Mormons in northern Ohio, followed by about two columns of editorial, which in part reads: "The above named sect (if sect it can be called) took its rise within the last two or three years, in this state, from a man by the name of Joseph Smith, Jr. a man of subtlety and cunning, but of no learning, and as we are informed, much worse than no character. Judging from the book he has published, we are satisfied he must be a real, unprincipled, villainous impostor. ... [*description of Book of Mormon's contents deleted*] On the whole, it is one of the most abominable pieces of imposition and blasphemy, that has of late been attempted to be palmed upon [the] community, in the name of a new revelation. ... [signed] S. [Dolphus Skinner]" (2 [5 Feb. 1831]: 47).

2. The same phrase is used in Albert Neely's bill for 20 March 1826: "Joseph Smith / The Glass looker" (IV.F.2, ALBERT NEELY BILL OF COSTS, 1826; see also IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 1).

3. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

4. In late October 1825 Josiah Stowell visited Manchester, New York, and hired Joseph Smith to use his seer stone in searching for treasure in Harmony, Pennsylvania (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, 1853:91-92). After searching for a lost Spanish mine in Pennsylvania in November 1825, Smith continued searching for treasures in the New York counties of Chenango and Broome (see V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825; IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826).

5. On Smith's being charged as a "disorderly person," see introduction to IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE (NY) COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826.

condemned[6] before a court of Justice. But, considering his youth, (he then being a minor) and thinking he might reform his conduct, he was designedly allowed to escape.[7] This was four or five years ago. From this time he absented himself from this place, returning only privately, and holding clandestine intercourse with his credulous dupes, for two or three years.[8]

It was during this time, and probably by the help of others[9] more skilled in the way of iniquity than himself, that he formed the blasphemous design of forging a new revelation, which, backed by the terrors of an endless hell, and the testimony of base unprincipled men, he hoped would frighten the ignorant, and open a field of speculation for the vicious,[10] so that he might secure to himself the scandalous honor of being the founder of a new sect, which might rival, perhaps, the Wilkinsonians,[11] or the French Prophets of the 17th century.

During the past Summer [of 1830][12] he was frequently in this vicinity,

---

6. Regarding the "guilty" verdict, see introduction to IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE (NY) COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826.

7. Joel K. Noble similarly claimed that "whisper came to Jo.[,] off off—took Leg Bail (or gave [leg bail])" (IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842), meaning "to escape from custody" (Partridge 1967, 476; Walters 1877, 123). Regarding Smith's supposed escape, see discussion in introduction to IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE (NY) COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826.

8. Joel K. Noble also noticed Smith's absence from the area following the Bainbridge trial, stating that "Jo. was not seen in our town for ... 2 Years or more (except in Dark corners)" (IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 1). After his departure from the Bainbridge/Colesville area in 1826, Smith had several opportunities to contact Josiah Stowell and Joseph Knight but probably did not attract public notice until perhaps 1828 and 1829 when he began translating the Book of Mormon in nearby Harmony.

9. As in other matters, Joel K. Noble follows Benton in claiming that two individuals, whom he did not care to name, "[s]timilated" Smith to produce the Book of Mormon (IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 1-2).

10. Benton evidently alludes to the Book of Mormon and testimony of the three and eight witnesses. Dale Morgan noted, "This language was the Universalist idiom of the period in reaction to the hellfire and brimstone of other denominations" (J. P. Walker 1986, 400). On the Book of Mormon's anti-Universalist rhetoric, see Vogel 1993.

11. On Jemima Wilkinson (1752-1819), see III.E.3, *PALMYRA REFLECTOR,* 1829-1831, n. 16.

12. About 25 June 1830, Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, and David Whitmer visited Colesville for several days, holding meetings and

and others of the baser sort, as [Oliver] Cowdry, Whitmer,[13] etc., holding meetings, and proselyting a few week and silly women, and still more silly men, whose minds are shrouded in a mist of ignorance, which no ray can penetrate, and whose credulity the utmost absurdity cannot equal.

In order to check the progress of delusion, and open the eyes and understandings of those who blindly followed him, and unmask the turpitude and villany of those who knowingly abetted him in his infamous designs; he was again arraigned before a bar of Justice, during last Summer, to answer to a charge of misdemeanor.[14] This trial led to an investigation of his character and conduct, which clearly evinced to the unprejudiced, whence the spirit came which dictated his inspirations. During the trial it was shown that the Book of Mormon was brought to light by the same magic power by which he pretended to tell fortunes, discover hidden treasures, &c. Oliver Cowdry, one of the three witnesses to the book, testified under oath, that said Smith found with the plates, from which he translated his book, two transparent stones, resembling glass, set in silver bows. That by looking through these, he was able to read in English, the reformed Egyptian characters, which were engraved on the plates.

So much for the gift and power of God, by which Smith says he translated his book. Two transparent stones, undoubtedly of the same properties, and the gift of the same spirit as the one in which he looked to find his neighbor's goods. It is reported, and probably true, that he commenced his juggling by stealing and hiding property belonging to his neighbors, and when inquiry was made, he would look in his stone, (his gift and power) and tell where it was. Josiah Stowell,[15] a Mormonite, being sworn, testified that he positively knew that said Smith never had lied to, or deceived him, and did

---

baptizing members of the Knight family and others on the following Monday (28 June 1830) (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 42-43; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 55).

13. According to Smith's history, both David and John Whitmer were present for the June meetings in Colesville (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 42).

14. The first of the 1830 trials was evidently an attempt to retry Smith on the same charge of the 1826 court hearing. On Smith's appearance before Justice Chamberlin on the charge of being a "[d]isorderly person," see IV.F.4, JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JUL 1830.

15. Smith's history also mentions that Stowell testified concerning a horse Smith had purchased on credit from him (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 44-45).

not believe he ever tried to deceive anybody else. The following questions were then asked him, to which he made the replies annexed.

Did Smith ever tell you there was money hid in a certain place which he mentioned? Yes. Did he tell you, you could find it by digging? Yes. Did you dig? Yes. Did you find any money? No. Did he not lie to you then, and deceive you? No! the money was there, but we did not get quite to it! How do you know it was there? Smith said it was! Addison Austin[16] was next called upon, who testified, that at the very same time that Stowell was digging for money, he, Austin, was in company with said Smith alone, and asked him to tell him honestly whether he could see this money or not. Smith hesitated some time, but finally replied, "to be candid, between you and me, I cannot, any more than you or any body else; but any way to get a living." Here, then, we have his own confession, that he was a vile, dishonest impostor. As regards the testimony of Josiah Stowell, it needs no comment. He swore positively that Smith did not lie to him. So much for a Mormon witness. Paramount to this, in truth and consistency, was the testimony of Joseph Knight,[17] another Mormonite. Newel Knight,[18] son of the former, and also a

---

16. I have been unable to identify this person. Colesville justice Joel K. Noble remembered similar testimony being given at Smith's second 1830 trial: "Jo. was asked by witness if he could see or tel more than others[.] Jo. said he could not and says any thing for a living[.] I now and then Get a shilling" (IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 2). Austin may have testified at both 1830 trials, perhaps being among the "many witnesses ... [who] had appeared against me [Smith] the day previous" (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 46).

17. Joseph Knight failed to mention his testimony during Smith's 1830 court hearings, but Benton remembered that Knight had testified. Hamilton Child claimed that Knight testified concerning Smith's casting a devil out of his son Newel (IV.E.4, HAMILTON CHILD ACCOUNT, 1869). On Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772-47), see introduction to IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847.

18. Both Joseph Smith's history and Newel Knight's autobiography, the latter of which closely follows the former, report that Newel's testimony about a devil being cast out of him was given at Colesville, the second of Smith's 1830 trials, rather than the first trial at Bainbridge as Benton mentions (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 46; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 59-60). Justice Noble, who presided at the Colesville hearing, remembered that "a Mormon Swore <in open court> Jo. Smith Cast a Devil out of him. ... Said Devil was a body of Light and Gave a Relation of [the] whole Process" (IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842). It is possible that Newel gave similar testimony at both hearings. On Newel Knight (1800-47), see introduction to IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846.

Mormonite, testified, under oath, that he positively had a devil cast out of himself by the instrumentality of Joseph Smith, jr., and that he saw the devil after it was out, but could not tell how it looked!

Those who have joined them in this place, are, without exception, children who are frightened into the measure, or ignorant adults, whose love for the marvellous is equalled by nothing but their entire devotedness to the will of their leader; with a few who are as destitute of virtue and moral honesty, as they are of truth and consistency. As for his book, it is only the counterpart of his money-digging plan. Fearing the penalty of the law, and wishing still to amuse his followers, he fled for safety to the sanctuary of pretended religion.

A. W. B.

S. Bainbridge, Chen[ango]. co., March, 1831.

3.
JARED CARTER REMINISCENCE, 1832

Jared Carter, Journal (1830-1833), 1-5, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Jared Carter (1801-1849/50) was born at Benson, Rutland County, Vermont. He married Lydia Ames on 20 September 1825. He was residing in Chenango, Broome County, New York, when he was baptized by Hyrum Smith in February 1831. Soon after, Carter moved to Amherst, Ohio. About June 1831 he was ordained a priest, and the following September an elder. About 1839 he located his family to Nauvoo, Illinois. After Joseph Smith's death, Carter briefly associated with various splinter groups but eventually returned to the main body headed by Brigham Young and the apostles. By January 1847, he had become a member of the Yoree Branch located in Chicago, Illinois. He apparently died in Illinois before the 1850 census, probably in 1849 or early 1850 (L. Cook 1981, 74; Cannon and Cook 1983, 253).

The first part of Carter's "journal" is a retrospective account, as stated in its opening sentences: "The commencement of the journal of Jared Carter, a servant of the Lord. And now I do not or cannot mention the date of the days that the things took place of which I do mention the year and perhaps the month in this the forepart of my journal. Commencing the year 1831, in January. For I do not make a journal of which took place before I heard of the Church of Christ." The first daily entry begins with 25 April 1832, the commencement of Carter's mission to the eastern states. The opening portion of the journal has sustained some damage; gaps are indicated by bracketed dashes.

... Commencing the year 1831, in Jan[uary]. ... it was at this time that I heard of the book of [Mor]=mon as I was going on business to be gone for several weeks I had not got more than [p. 1] twelve miles from home before I for the [first] time heard of the book of mormon at the house of [John?] peeks[1] who lived in the town of lile[,] broom Coun[ty] york state he gave me some relation of the people of this work which not with standing, he

1. John Peck, brother of Hezekiah Peck and Polly Peck Knight, lived in

him=self was opposed to this work This Cause much astonish=ment to fill my mind and after reading awhile in the book of mormon and Praying earnestly to the Lord that he would show me the truth of the Book[,] I became im=mediately convi[n]ced that it was a revelation of God & it had such an influence on my mind that I had no mind to pursue my business[.] not with standing I had Just before a mind to go a consider<able> of a Journey to be gone for Some weeks but I found I was Com=pletely unqualified for any business until I Should g<o> and assist the Church of Christ[.] I therefore returned home[.] I told my Companion [Lydia Ames Carter] what I had heard and [seen].[I] told her that [-] that I should go and see [the people] [-]. my com=panion did not think as ~~as~~ I did concerning the thing of which I had been relating to her but she told me ~~she told me~~ that she thought that it was delusion & was unwilling that I should go to visit the people[.] but I concluded that I should go to See them as soon as expedient & it seems to me as tho I should See the time Soon that my companion would be willing that I should go & it seemed to me requisite that she should be willing[.] I continued Praying earnestly that I might know the will of god to do my duty I at length became convinced that it was my duty to go and see the Church of Christ I told my companion my feelings She answered me that she was entirely willing that I should go[.] accordingly I ~~told~~ went from Shenango a town in Broom County state of N.Y., where we lived to the town of Coalsville[.] on the way to this place I made some enquiry of the people that I met with <of> this people who believed in the book of mormon which they had ~~In~~ and I heard all manner of statements con=cerning them almost excepting there was no good said of them & I found that the most wicked and profane <were> the most ready to rail against them. on seeing this I instead of being convinced that there was no truth in the work as many have been on [hearin[g]?] many false [p. 2] Stories I became more and more confirmed in the belief of this work that it was the work spoken of in the prophecies that should take place in the Last days even the gr[e]at gathering of israel the second time[.] I observed that as I believed in the work that I received the manifestations of the spirit of god & my mind was Joyfully entertained in view of the prophecies & of this most glorious work of the Lord & on visiting the Church of Christ at Colesville & having an interview with them I felt it my duty to separate from Babylon and <be> baptized[.] accordingly I was baptized by hyrum Smith[2] about the 20th of february [1831], for the remission of

---

Lisle Township, Broome County, New York (Porter 1971, 206; U.S. Census, Lisle, Broome County, New York, 1820:8; 1830:104).

2. On Hyrum Smith (1800-44), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 12.

sins & as I was baptiz=ed I felt the influences of the spirit of god for as I stepped out of the water I was wrapped in the spirit both soul & body even so that the chill of the cold water was taken from <m>e & I walked near half of a mile & was no more Cold than as though I had not been baptised[.] this I knew to be the marvelous power of god for I knew that noth=ing but the power of god Could accomplish this and besides this it seemed to me [-] as though I had come into a new climate[.] in this joyful state I continued ~~[many?]~~ much of the time[.] I conversed <with> the brethren until the next day[.] Brother hyrum Smith told me many things which would take place ~~af-ter~~ on the authority of the prophecies which I after days found to be even ful-filled I retur=ned to Chenango trusting that I could convince many of friends & neighbors but they most all of them began to abuse me and wife among the rest some of my friends as I had formerly supposed became <now> my worst enemies & only a very few individuals were frie=ndly to me and they used all their talents apparently to fright=en my companion tell-ing her that I was going to destroy my Self & my family my wife seemed to be in great distress of mind Supposing me to be shockingly deluded[.] I seeing her state of mind was some considerably affected for her but I went to my heavenly father with all my afflictions & he helped me to bear them and the Lord gave me to possess great faith so that by the prayer of faith by my instru-mentality there was some displays of the healing power in my own family[.] my children were sick[.] the babe which was about ~~9 weeks~~ 3 months old had the [w]hoopen cough and our neighbors considered ~~that~~ that it would dye but the Lord heard my pray[er] and healed my child in a marvelous maner for it was taken from the brink of the grave & placed [p. 4] in the possession of excellent health[.] this some of the neighbors took notice of and often of the same[.] about this time Brother Hyrum Smith came to my house or a short time before this and he showed the Propriety of this glorious work unto those who were present at my house[.] he also conversed with my wife[.] he asked her why she had felt to op[p]ose this work[.] She answered she had heard so many stories about the people that she could not believe any thing in them[.] he also asked her if I had not told her that there was no truth in them[.] She answered him that I had[.] he then asked her why she could not believe what I had told him [her?] when I had been among them and had had a chance to know more than all those who ~~had~~ felt to oppose this work[.] She then began to see that she had not been wise and did in some measure acknowled=ge it from this time[.] She began to be more tender towards the work of the Lord[.] this gave me some encouragement to believe that she would finally believe the work but the neighbors used all their influence to harrow up her mind with fear[.] this I suppose they did hoping that it would have an influence to make me continue my residence there[.] but I told

<them> that I should go on to the west with the Church of Christ[.] there were also some that used other exertions to get me to stay there[.] among the rest ~~there~~ was one that offered to give me a piece of land if I would stay and live in the place[.] but I replied that not for 15 [of] the best farms <in the place> would I stay in Chenango one year[.] I realizing that that glorious time had come even the return of the captive daughters of Zion[.] I commenced immedi=ately to sell of[f] my things & to make preparations to go on to the west where it was to be made known of the building up of Zion[.] & in april 1831 commenced my Journey to the west with the Church of Christ[.] we went to Ithica & took water to go to the ohio. ...

4.
CYRUS SMALLING TO DEAR SIR, 10 MARCH 1841

Cyrus Smalling to Dear Sir, 10 March 1841, in E. G. Lee, *The Mormons; or, Knavery Exposed* (Frankford, Pennsylvania: Published by E. G. Lee; Philadelphia: George Webber and William Fenimore, 1841), 12-15.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Outside his connection with Mormonism, very little is known about Cyrus Smalling. He was a resident of Broome County, New York, when he converted to Mormonism. About 1833 he moved to Kirtland, Ohio, where he was ordained an elder, and in February 1835 he was ordained to the First Quorum of Seventy. But he became disillusioned with Joseph Smith during the Kirtland Bank crisis of 1837 and joined with Martin Harris and other dissenters who, although they retained belief in the Book of Mormon, rejected Smith's leadership. In 1843 Smith accused Smalling of stealing church records, among which was the book containing patriarchal blessings (J. Smith 1948, 2:185, 203, 6:66; III.F.7, STEPHEN BURNETT TO LYMAN E. JOHNSON, 15 APR 1838; introduction to I.C.2, JOSEPH SMITH, SR. BLESSINGS, 1834).

Smalling's letter of 10 March 1841, which includes an account of Joseph Smith's early money digging in northern Pennsylvania and southern New York, was published in E. G. Lee's extremely rare pamphlet, *The Mormons; or, Knavery Exposed,* which was printed in Philadelphia in 1841.

KIRTLAND, Ohio, March 10th, A.D., 1841.

Dear Sir—By request, and the duty I owe to my fellow-man, I consent to answer your letter, and your request as to Joseph Smith, Jr., and the Safety Society Bank of the Latter Day Saints, as they call themselves at the present, or Mormons. As to the character of Joseph Smith, Jr., I do not feel disposed to attack, and therefore, shall only state facts as they are, and leave the people to judge of character. In his youth, he and the whole family were money-[p. 12]diggers, and the first knowledge I have of him, is at Harmony, Susquehannah county, Pa. where he was translating the Book of Mormon. Soon af-

ter he was taken up and tried as an impostor[1]; but was cleared on account of the testimony that was given of the chests of money moving so that they could not get them.[2] I then lived in that county [Broome County], they soon begun to build up the Church of Christ, as they called it, and they said [it] by a revelation from the God of heaven[3]; and many in that region joined themselves to them and also in the western part of New York, especially at Palmyra and Fayette. The followers of Smith believe him to be a prophet, and he had a revelation that the church must move to the Ohio, which they did, selling their possessions and helping each other as a band of brothers, and they settled in this place. The Smith family were then all poor and the most of the church. ... [p. 13] ...

I am yours, &c.
CYRUS SMALLING, *of Kirtland, Ohio.* [p. 15]

---

1. He evidently refers to Smith's 1830 trials in South Bainbridge and Colesville, which occurred on 1 and 2 July respectively. However, since "impostor" was not a criminal offense, he may have meant "pretending ... to discover where lost goods may be found," which is part of the legal language used to describe "disorderly persons" (*Laws of the State of New York, Revised,* 1813, 1:114, sec. 1; Walters 1977, 124, n. 8; Madsen 1990, 93). Joseph Knight said that the 1830 warrant was issued on account of Smith's "pretending to see under ground. A little Clause they found in the york Laws against such things" (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 8).

2. Similar testimony was given by Josiah Stowell and Jonathan Thompson at Smith's March 1826 court hearing in South Bainbridge, New York (see IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826).

3. See, e.g., D&C 20:1.

5.
JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MARCH 1842

Joel K. Noble to Jonathan B. Turner, 8 March 1842, Jonathan Baldwin Turner Papers, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Joel King Noble (1789-1874) was the Justice of the Peace in Colesville, Broome County, New York, before whom Joseph Smith appeared on 2 July 1830. Noble married Sarah M. Freeman (1802-1887) in 1822. He was also an inspector of common schools in Broome County (H. P. Smith 1885, 331). He was still in Broome County when he was fined $5.00 by a grand jury on 22 June 1848 (Broome County Clerk's Office, Binghamton, New York). After 1850, he moved to Hartland, Huron County, Ohio, where he died on 19 February 1874 (Boltwood 1878, 249; Walters 1977, 121).

He wrote the present letter to answer an inquiry from Professor Jonathan B. Turner of Illinois College in Jacksonville, Illinois. The letter evidently arrived too late for inclusion in Turner's book, *Mormonism in All Ages* (New York: Platt & Peters, 1842). The cover page reads: "25 / To J. B. Turner P[rofessor]. of Rhetoric Illinois College / Jacksonville Morgan Co. State of Illinois / Nineveh Ny / March 19 / Bainbridge / J. K. N." Wesley P. Walters published photographs of Noble's original letter in 1977 (Walters 1977, 132-37).

Chenango County—Bainbridge March 8—1842.

Sir I wrote to you under peculiar circumstances having been confined to my room for 5 weeks and now sit up but a few hours at a time[.] Your Letter came to me in — winter by chance[.] I understod no answer had been Given I volunteer to answer being at present not a Civil Officer[.] what I state as fact I am responsable for[;] [if] heresay[,] mark so— Jo. Smith Senior Lived in Vermont connected with a band of counterfeiters[1]—ran—came to Mohowk

1. Noble does not give a source for this information; see II.A.2, BARNES FRISBIE ACCOUNT, 1867; II.B.11, VERMONT SUPREME COURT RECORDS, 1807; and II.A.3, DANIEL WOODWARD ACCOUNT, 1870, for similar accusations.

river [in New York][2]—aloped (Seduced a marr[i]ed woman) to Can[ady?] [Canada] came to Palmyra in [this]—State[.][3] I firmly believe proof <affidavit> my <may be> had to identify—<Like father Like son> Jo. Smith (Mormon) came here when about 17-18 Y[ears]. of age[4] in the capacity of Glass Looker or fortune=teler[.][5] at that time his physiognamy[6] indicated almost any thing rather than native Good common Sound Sense[.] Sir I do think I am not mistaken in the above—

You may then enquire ask me Behold what Jo. has Don[e] I [s]ay Jo. is the cats paw [and] the Lion is behind the curtin[.] You then en[quire] who is the Lion I Say Mr. Rigdon[7] was not the Lion until after the Book of Mormon was Printed [but] he may be the Lion now[.] You Yet en[quire] who the Lion (first) was[.] I say 2 individuals[.][8] names of 2 I keep for present—I am well aware that it went the round in many P[almyra]. papers that the B[ook]. of M[ormon]. was w[ritten] first for amusement and received a Dress=ing by Some individual Said by Some to [be] Mr. Rigdon[.] Sir this is incorrect I can prove (absolute) Mr. Rigdon Did not[.] 2 individuals Did (not bostingly) ~~Pleas im~~

(I have Retired a few hours [and] Commence again) Jo. engaged the attention of a few indiv[iduals] Given to the marvelous[.] Dug for money[,]

---

2. A tributary of the Hudson, the Mohawk originates in Oneida County, New York, runs north of Utica, through Herkimer and Montgomery Counties, and connects with the Hudson just above Albany. Noble's source for locating Joseph Smith, Sr., in this region is undoubtedly incorrect. Perhaps the rumor results from confusing another Joseph Smith with Joseph Sr.

3. There is no other evidence to support Noble's statement about Joseph Smith, Sr., and its accuracy is extremely doubtful. For similar accusations, see IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877; IV.D.3, *BAINBRIDGE* (NY) *REPUBLICAN,* 23 AUG 1877; and IV.D.13, HARVEY BAKER REMINISCENCE, 1900.

4. This would have put Joseph Smith in the Colesville area in 1823-24. However, he first came to South Bainbridge with Josiah Stowell about November 1825 when he was nineteen.

5. The label of "[g]lass looker" also appears in IV.F.2, ALBERT NEELY BILL OF COSTS, 1826; see also IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831.

6. Judging a person's character or intelligence from their outward appearance, particularly facial features.

7. On Sidney Rigdon (1793-1876) see introduction to I.A.13, SIDNEY RIGDON ACCOUNT, CIRCA 1836.

8. Noble may have had in mind James Davidson and John S. Reed, the two attorneys who defended Joseph Smith at his two 1830 court examinations.

Salt[,] Iron Oar[,] Golden Oar[,] Silver Oar[,] and almost any thing[,] every thing until Civil authority brought up Jo. standing (as the Boys say) under the Vagrant act[.][9] Jo. was condemned[.][10] whisper came to Jo.[,] off off—took Leg Bail (or gave [leg bail])[11] all things Straight[.] Jo. was not seen in our town for ~~of~~ 2 Years or more (except in Dark corners)[.][12] his haunt was Palmyra and Harmony (Penn.) Bainbridge (in the Dark) making a triangle—here for 2 Y[ears]. and more[.] Jo.<s> mind Kept Same tract (only more hellish) Stimilated by 2 individuals (above) [p. 1] and perhaps by Supposing himself to be considered ~~not~~ <the> Author of a Bible— — —

After 2 Years from the time of Jo.<s> first trial[13] he appeared in our place bold as a Lion again[.] Jo. was arrested [and] exami=nation had[.][14] Jo. plead in bar Statue of Limitations[.][15] Jo was no Sooner Set on terifirma than

---

9. Other sources indicate that Smith was charged with being a "disorderly person" (III.G.13, OLIVER COWDERY TO W. W. PHELPS, OCT 1835, 201; IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). The Vagrant Act to which Noble refers was officially titled "An ACT for apprehending and punishing disorderly Persons," which included in its definition: "all persons pretending to tell fortunes, or where lost or stolen goods may be found" (*Laws of the State of New York, Revised,* 1813, 1:114, sec. 1; Walters 1977, 124, n. 8; Madsen 1990, 93).

10. Regarding the outcome of Smith's 1826 pre-trial court hearing, see discussion in IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE (NY) COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826.

11. To give or take "leg bail" means "to escape from custody" (Partridge 1967, 476; Walters 1977, 123). Abram W. Benton similarly claimed that "considering his [Smith's] youth, (he then being a minor) and thinking he might reform his conduct, he was designedly allowed to escape" (IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831). However, see my discussion in IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE (NY) COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826.

12. Abram W. Benton similarly claimed that following the 1826 trial, Smith "absented himself from this place, returning only privately, and holding clandestine intercourse with his credulous dupes, for two or three years" (IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831).

13. Smith's first trial was held in South Bainbridge before Justice Neely on 20 March 1826 (see IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826; IV.F.2, ALBERT NEELY BILL OF COSTS, 1826). There was therefore a four-year gap between trials.

14. Joseph Smith was arrested by Constable Ebenezer Hatch on 30 June 1830 and appeared before Justice Chamberlin of South Bainbridge the following day (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 44; IV.F.5, EBENEZER HATCH BILL OF COSTS, 4 JUL 1830).

15. Wesley P. Walters noted, "The law limited the time for prosecution of a misdemeanor to three years ..., while four had elapsed. The prosecution may

arrested again [and] brought before me in an adjoining County only 6 miles Distant[.][16] trial protracted 23 hours[.] the prosecuti[on] was Cond[ucted] by a Gent[leman] well Skil[l]ed in [the] Science of Law[.][17] proof manifested by I think 43 Witnesses[.][18] Proof Jo. a Vagrant idler[,] Lazy (not Drunkard) but now and then Drunk[,] Liar[,] Deceiver[,] Jo. a nuicance to Good Society[.] Jo. was asked by witness if he could see or tel more than others[.] Jo. said he could not and says any thing for a living[.] I now and then Get a shilling[.][19] The [commission?] You See made Jo. any thing but a Good man—Yours for to Day—

An ~~acedote~~ anecdote—Jo. and others were Diging for a Chest of money in night[.] could not obtain ~~it~~ it[.] they Procured one thing and an other together with [a] black Bitch the Bitch was offered a ~~Sacr wh~~ <sacrifice>[,] [blo]od Sprinkled[,] prayer made at the time (no money obtained)[.] the above Sworn to on Trial[20]—Sir a Small Volume at least might might be fil[l]ed Similar to the above[.] Sir I had intended to Give you the ~~carracter~~ character of the mormons who went from here—here you see ~~was~~ mormonism was gendered[.] pilgrims first started for holy land[.] I would <say>

---

have felt it still had a case since part of that time Joseph had been living in Harmony, Pa., and the law did not reckon the time spent outside the state as a part of the three year limitation" (Walters 1977, 129, n. 25; *Laws of the State of New York, Revised,* 1813, 1:187, sec. 7).

16. Smith was rearrested on 1 July 1830 and appeared before Justice Noble of Colesville, Broome County, on the following day (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 45-47).

17. This was William Seymour (1780-1848), who was mentioned in Smith's history as "Lawyer Seymour" (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 46, n. 155).

18. John Reed, who defended Smith at both 1830 trials, said the prosecution introduced some "twenty or thirty witnesses before dark" (IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844).

19. A. W. Benton, perhaps describing testimony given the previous day in Bainbridge, said that Addison Austin reported this alleged confession from Smith (IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831). Austin was undoubtedly among those whom Smith said "swore to the most palpable falsehoods" (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 46).

20. This incident is apparently related in greater detail by Emily Colburn Austin, who places the event on Joseph Knight's farm in Colesville sometime between the summer of 1825 and Smith's leaving the area following the trial of March 1826 (IV.D.7, EMILY [COLBURN] AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 32-33). It is also possible that it occurred while Smith was working for Knight from November 1826 to January 1827.

Some ware Infidel Universalist[.][21] Some had been Baptists[,] 2 Presbyterians[22] [and] Several Methodists[.] all I think with 2 exceptions were rejected[.] Some abandoned Drunkards our [or?] ple[a]se Sir well clensed. Mr. Stowes [Josiah Stowell,][23] a plane hones[t] man of Property say $5 or 6000 Given to the marvelous followed Jo. to Ohio—Soon returned and now here or not far from this place[24]—Sir Some of the mormons were good neighbors

Jo. Did not have connection with individuals in Otsego Co. to my Knowledge[.] Sir I am fatigued I close I write to you in confidense You will without Doubt Show this to confidential friends[.] if in fact you wish to make use of [this letter] Do so[.] please manifest as much patience in [me] as I have in [you][.] Respec[tfully] Yours[,] Joel K. Noble [p. 2]

[*The following is a note written sideways on page 2:*]

—Sir Jo condem[ned] in a Just[ice] trials Bar S[outh]. of [Quinntown?] [-] at Jo cost one Reprimand[25]

P.S. Sir I Give you no advice—but were I to write on Mo[rmo]ns I would begin at Least where Jo. began to Dig for money[.] I would follow J[o]. Step by Step with the eye of <an> eagle by affidavit and certificate[.] I would

---

21. The Joseph Knight, Sr., and Hezekiah Peck families were Universalists (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 39; J. Smith 1948, 2:311).

22. Perhaps a reference to Sally Knight, wife of Newel Knight, and her younger sister Emily Colburn. Josiah Stowell was also a Presbyterian.

23. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

24. Sally Ann Beardsley stated: "I remember of the time when the followers of Smith including Deacon Josiah Stowell went away. It was said they were going to the Promised Land" (IV.D.14, SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY AFFIDAVIT, 27 MAR 1903). Harriet Marsh reportedly said she saw the "Mormon Exodus" pass her house, and that she "saw Josiah Stowell and his daughter after they returned from the Mormons" (IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880; see also IV.D.4, WILLIAM S. SAYRE TO JAMES T. COBB, 31 AUG 1878). The details of Stowell's trip to Ohio and return are not known. Larry C. Porter has noted, "the land deeds of Chenango County do not suggest an extended removal to Ohio, but rather a move to nearby Tioga County, New York" (Porter 1971, 208).

25. Wesley P. Walters noted, "Though poorly written, the name appears to read 'Quinntown,' possibly the section of Fenton Township, Broome County, now known as Quinneville (just west of Colesville, where the Quinn family once lived). The surrounding counties also have traditions of Joseph Smith's legal difficulties in their areas. ... It is highly possible that further research

identify facts[.] but perhaps Your Book may be in press—~~an~~ new Editi[on] may be issued then it might be of use [—] <You> enquire who could collect facts[.] You Sir might if here[.] Individuals here could <You> enquire [as] could You[.] I say I could and I think have it near right a common Blessing attending (circumstances) I have 8 children[,] 7 of which Look to me for Support[.] this Depends principally on my Duly Exerting ([excuse?]) Sir p[l]ease on the Re[ceip]<t> of this Send me Your adress—soon Please Send if convenient now and then a Mormon Paper (old Same thing) or paper from Your place—Direct [to] J. K. Noble[,] Broome Co.[,] Colesville[,] Ninevey P.O. [post office] I Live one Mile from O[ffice]. 5 from Bainbridge O[ffice]. J. K. N.

Again P.S. anicdote (hellish) a Mormon Swore <in open court> Jo. Smith Cast a Devil out of him (M[ormo]n and said how D[evi]l looked[.] Said Devil was a body of Light and Gave a Relation of [the] whole Prosess[26]—now the man was a P[ai]d man (or some may <say> deceived) Jo. present and Silent—(Silence Gives Consent)—follow the argum[en]t[.] Sir I think I have written p<l>enty—You may think So (Patience)[.] Sir the same M[ormo]n (above) said an angel of Light or some holy being Direct from heaven told him (M[ormo]n) [i]s a certain fact—the whole Prosess above has been Proofed to be a falsh[oo]d[.] affadavit is now in my Possession[.][27] Sir I think I now will be Silent—Sir I have a Great anxiety fore the success of Your undertaking[.] Sir be Determi[ne]<d> onward march &c— — — —J. K. N.

P.S. Sir if you want any information of me Please let me know be [familia]=r—now I Say—hold on[.] J. K. N.— —

J. K. N.—

---

may turn up other enlightening legal entanglements in the early career of Mormonism's founder" (Walters 1977, 130, n. 28). Noble's report of additional trials involving Joseph Smith in Broome County has yet to be verified. Perhaps he heard about another Joseph Smith being tried near Quinneville and assumed it was the same person.

26. Joseph Smith, Newel Knight, and Justice Noble are united in reporting that Newel Knight testified about Smith's casting a devil out of him during the second 1830 court proceeding in Colesville (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 46; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 59-60). A. W. Benton said Knight testified during the first 1830 trial in South Bainbridge (IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831); it is possible that Knight gave the same testimony at both trials.

27. Noble's docket book and other records have yet to be located.

6.
JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844

"Some of the Remarks of John S. Reed, Esq., as Delivered before the State Convention," *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 June 1844): 549-52.

EDITORIAL NOTE

John Savage Reed (1784-1878) was born in Massachusetts. Since at least the early 1820s, he was farming in South Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York, and in May 1826 experienced legal difficulties there (see IV.F.3, PHILIP DEZENG BILL OF COSTS, 1826). In early July 1830, Joseph Knight called on him for help with Joseph Smith's legal defense during the latter's trials in South Bainbridge and Colesville. On 29 October 1830 Reed was arrested on an assault and battery charge, which was apparently dropped when the complainant failed to appear (Elisha Sharpe, 1830 Bill, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, Chenango County, New York). When Reed visited Nauvoo, Illinois, for a political convention in May 1844, he was listed as a delegate from Chemung, New York (J. Smith 1948, 6:389). By 1860, he was residing at Mexico, Oswego County, New York. According to Reed family papers, John S. Reed is buried in Three Mile Creek Cemetery, Clayton, Jefferson County, New York (Jessee 1989, 508; Reed Family Papers, copy in my possession).

He left two reminiscences about his experiences with Joseph Smith in South Bainbridge and Colesville. The first was given during a speech he delivered on 17 May 1844 before the convention convened at Nauvoo to nominate Joseph Smith for president of the United States (J. Smith 1948, 6:386). The second was written seventeen years later in a letter to Brigham Young, dated 6 December 1861 (see IV.D.1, JOHN S. REED TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, 6 DEC 1861).

Besides the two reminiscences, he evidently related his early experience with Smith on a number of occasions. Two days previous to the convention, according to Smith's history, "Mr. Reid, my old lawyer, gave a lecture on the stand, relating the history of my first persecutions" (J. Smith 1948, 6:377; Faulring 1987, 479). This 1844 visit was probably also the occasion on which Lucy Smith heard Reed's reminiscence (see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:Frag. 6 [front], 1853:158).

When Reed's speech was published in the *Times and Seasons* in June 1844, it included this introduction: "The following is a part of the speech of

Mr. Reed, Esq., as delivered at the State Convention, in Nauvoo. We expected according to a resolution passed, to have had the whole; but as Mr. Reed was in a hurry, he was unable to furnish us with any more than the following, which refers particularly to Gen. Smith's early history" (5:549).[1] The language used throughout Reed's speech, as also his 1861 letter, is one of a believer. Yet, there is no record of his conversion or baptism. According to Lucy Smith's published history, Reed was "a faithful friend to Joseph, although he has never attached himself to the Church" (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, 1853:158).

Mr. Chairman:—I cannot leave this subject and do justice to my own feelings, and the character of Gen. Smith, without giving a short history of the first persecution that came upon him in the counties of Chenango and Broome, in the State of New York, commenced by that class of people calling themselves Christians.

The first acquaintance I had with Gen. Smith, was about the year 1823.[2] He came into my neighborhood, being then about eighteen years of age, and resided there two years; during which time I became intimately acquainted with him. I do know that his character was irreproachable; that he was well known for truth and uprightness; that he moved in the first circles of community, and he was often spoken of as a young man of intelligence, and good morals, and possessing a mind susceptible of the highest intellectual attainments.

---

1. Reed remained in Nauvoo for at least two days after giving his speech (Faulring 1987, 480).

2. Reed is most likely incorrect about this date. Smith first appeared in Chenango County when Josiah Stowell brought him there in late 1825 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 8). Josiah Stowell said he knew Smith for six years, that is, from 1825 to 1831 (IV.B.1, JOSIAH STOWELL, JR., TO JOHN S. FULLMER, 17 FEB 1843). In March 1826, Stowell said that Smith had been at his residence about five months (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). William S. Sayre said Reed's memory for dates "was not very reliable" (IV.D.4, WILLIAM S. SAYRE TO JAMES T. COBB, 31 AUG 1878). Indeed, Reed's chronology is sometimes confusing. He states that he met Smith in 1823, that Smith was about eighteen (Smith would have been seventeen in 1823), and that he resided in South Bainbridge for two years (he later claimed it was three years), after which Smith and Joseph Knight went to Manchester to get the plates, which actually did not occur until September 1827. However, Reed's account is harmonized if one assumes an 1825 date for Smith's and Reed's introduction. There is also a possibility of a misprint in the *Times and Seasons*.

I early discovered that his mind was constantly in search of truth, expressing an anxious desire to know the will of God concerning his children here below, often speaking of those things which professed christians believe in.—I have often observed to my best informed friends, (those that were free from superstition and bigotry) that I thought Joseph was predestinated by his God from all eternity to be an instrument in the hands of the great dispenser of all good, to do a great work; what it was I knew not. After living in that neighborhood about three years, enjoying the good feelings of his acquaintances, as a worthy youth, he told his particular friends that he had had a revelation from God to go to the west about eighty miles, to his father's, in which neighborhood he should find hid in the earth, an old history written on golden plates, which would [p. 549] give great light and knowledge concerning the will of God towards his people in this generation; unfolding the destiny of all nations, kindreds and tongues; he said that he distinctly heard the voice of him that spake. Joseph Knight,[3] one of the father's of your church, a worthy man, and my intimate friend, went with him.[4] When I reflect upon our former friendship, Mr. Chairman, and upon the scenes that he has passed through in consequence of mal-administration, mobocracy, and cruelty, I feel to lift up my voice to high heaven, and pray God to bless the aged veteran, and that his silver locks may go down to the grave in peace, like a shock of corn fully ripe. In a few days his friends returned with the glad news that Joseph had found the plates and had gone down to his father-in-laws' for the purpose of translating them.[5] I believe he remained there until he finished the translation.[6] After the book was published, he came to live in the neighborhood of father Knights', about four miles from me, and began to preach the gospel, and many were pricked in their hearts, believed and were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus.[7] He soon formed a

---

3. On Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772-1847), see introduction to IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847.

4. Reed seems to compress events. Smith left South Bainbridge immediately after his marriage to Emma Hale in January 1827, and Joseph Knight and Josiah Stowell went to visit him eight months later.

5. Knight and Stowell returned to Colesville and South Bainbridge in late September or early October 1827, and Smith did not move to Harmony until about December.

6. In early June 1829, Smith moved to the residence of Peter Whitmer, Sr., in Fayette, New York, to complete the translation.

7. Smith did not live with Knight, but he made several visits to Colesville to organize a branch there. On 28 June 1830, he was present when several members of the Knight family and others were baptized.

church at Colesville, his meetings were numerously attended; the eyes of all people were upon him with astonishment. O Mr. Chairman, the world was turned up side down at once, and the devil always ready to assist and help along in all difficulties that arise among men, personified in some of the religionists, begun to prick up his ears, and jump, and kick, and run about, like Jim Crow, calling for rotton eggs to help in the wake; you would have thought sir, that Gog and Magog was let loose on the young man. He called upon the world's people, (as they are called) but got no help; he then flew about in the sectarian churches, like lightning, and they immediately came to his aid, and uniting their efforts roared against him like the thunders of Mount Sinai. When those fiery bigots were let loose, they united in pouring the red hot viols of their wrath upon his head. The cry of "false prophet! false prophet!!" was sounded from village to village, and every foul epithet that malice and wicked ingenuity could invent, was heaped upon him. ... But, Mr. Chairman, I am wandering too far from the subject. I will return to the persecutions which followed Gen. Smith, when his cheeks blossomed with the beauty of youth, and his eyes sparkled with innocence.

Those bigots soon made up a false accusation against him and had him arraigned before Joseph Chamberlain,[8] a justice of the peace, a man that was always ready to deal out justice to all, and a man of great discernment of mind. The case came on about 10 o'clock, A.M. I was called upon to defend the prisoner. The prosecutors employed the best counsel they could get, and ransacked the town of Bainbridge and county of Chenango for witnesses that would swear hard enough to convict the prisoner; but they entirely failed. Yes Sir, let me say to you that not one blemish nor spot was found against his character; he came from that trial, notwithstanding the mighty efforts that were made to convict him of crime by his vigilant persecutors, with his character unstained by even the appearance of guilt. The trial closed about 12 o'clock at night. After a few moments deliberation, the court pronounced the words 'not guilty,' and the prisoner was di[s]charged. But alas! the devil not satisfied with his defeat, stirred up a man not unlike himself, who was more fit to dwell among the fiends of hell than to belong to the human fam[p. 550]ily, to go to Colesville and get another writ, and take him to Broome

8. Smith appeared before Chamberlin, justice of the peace for South Bainbridge, on 1 July 1830 (IV.F.3, JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JUL 1830). Here Reed says that court began at 10 a.m. and closed about midnight, whereas in his 1861 letter, he states that court began at 9 a.m. and closed about 4 a.m. the next morning (see IV.D.1, JOHN S. REED TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, 6 DEC 1861). On Joseph Chamberlin, see introduction to IV.F.4, JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JUL 1830.

county for another trial. They were sure they could send that boy to hell, or to Texas, they did not care which; and in half an hour after he was discharged by the court, he was arrested again, and on the way to Colesville for another trial. I was again called upon by his friends to defend him against his malignant persecutors, and clear him from the false charges they had preferred against him. I made every reasonable excuse I could, as I was nearly worn down through fatigue and want of sleep; as I had been engaged in law suits for two days, and nearly the whole of two nights. But I saw the persecution was great against him; and here let me say, Mr. Chairman, singular as it may seem, while Mr. [Joseph] Knight was pleading with me to go, a peculiar impression or thought struck my mind, that I must go and defend him, for he was the Lord's annointed. I did not know what it meant, but thought I must go and clear the Lord's annointed. I said I would go; and started with as much faith as the apostles had when they could remove mountains, accompanied by father Knight, who was like the old patriarchs that followed the ark of God to the city of David. We rode on till we came to the house of Hezekiah Peck,[9] where a number of Mormon women had assembled, as I was informed, for the purpose of praying for the deliverance of the prophet of the Lord. The women came out to our waggon and Mrs. [Emma] Smith[10] among the rest. O my God, Sir, what were my feelings, when I saw that woman who had but a few days before given herself, heart and hand, to be a consort for life,[11] and that so soon her crimson cheeks must be wet with tears that came streaming from her eyes; yes Sir, it seemed that her very heart strings would be broken with grief. My feelings Sir, were moved with pity and sorrow, for the afflicted; and on the other hand they were wrought up to the highest pitch of indignation against those fiends of hell who had thus caused the innocent to sufferr [suffer][.]

The next morning about 10 o'clock the court was organized.[12] The prisoner was to be tried by three justices of the peace, that his departure out of the county might be made sure.[13]—Neither talents nor money were

---

9. On Hezekiah Peck (1782-1859), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 132.

10. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

11. Reed is mistaken. Joseph and Emma were married three years earlier.

12. Smith appeared before Joel K. Noble, justice of the peace for Colesville, on 2 July 1830 (IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842). Here Reed remembers that court began at 10 a.m. and closed at 4 a.m., but in his 1861 letter he said it commenced at 9 a.m. (IV.D.1, JOHN S. REED TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, 6 DEC 1861).

13. The claim that Smith was tried before a three-justice court, or Court

wanting to ensure them success. They employed the ablest lawyer in that county,[14] and introduced twenty or thirty witnesses before dark,[15] but proved nothing. They then sent out runners and ransacked the hills and vales, grog shops and ditches, and gathered together a company that looked as if they had come from hell, and had been whipped by the soot boy thereof; which they brought forward to testify one after another, but with no better success than before, although they wrung and twisted into every shape, in trying to tell something that would criminate the prisoner. Nothing was proven against him whatever. Having got through with the examination of their witnesses about 2 o'clock, in the morning, the case was argued about two hours. There was not one particle of testimony against the prisoner. No Sir, he came out like the three children from the fiery furnace, without the smell of fire upon his garments. The court deliberated upon the case for half an hour with closed doors, and then we were called in. The court arraigned the prisoner and said: "Mr. Smith, we have had your case under consideration, examined the testimony and find nothing to condem[n] you, and therefore you are discharged." They then proceeded to reprimand him severely; not because anything derogatory to his character in any shape had been proven against him by the host of witnesses that had testified during the trial, but merely to please those fiends in human shape, who were engaged in the unhallowed persecution of an innocent man, sheerly on account of his religious opinions.

After they had got through, I arose and said: 'This court puts me in mind of a certain trial held before Felix of old, when the enemies of Paul arraigned him before that venerable judge for some alleged crime, and nothing was found in him worthy of death or of bonds. Yet, to please the Jews, who were his accusers, he was left bound contrary to law; and this court has served Mr. Smith in the same way, by their unlawful and uncalled for reprimand after his discharge, to please his accusers.' We got him away that night from the midst of three hundred people without his receiving any injury; but I am well

---

of Special Sessions, is problematic. Apparently, Broome County legal documents for 1830 have not survived, but it would have been highly unusual for Smith to appear before such a court without first being arraigned before a single justice. Noble mentioned no other justices (IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842).

14. William Seymour (1780-1848) (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 155).

15. Justice Noble said the examination lasted twenty-three hours with forty-three witnesses testifying (IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842).

aware that we were assisted by some higher power than man; for to look back on the scene, I cannot tell how we succeeded in getting him away. I take no glory to myself, it was the Lord's work, and marvellous in our eyes.[16]

This Mr. Chairman, is a true history of the first persecution that came upon Gen. Smith in his youth among professed christians, and in a county heralded to the ends of the earth, as a land of freedom; where all men have the constitutional right to worship as they please, and believe what they please without molestation, so long as they do not interfere with the rights and privileges of others. Yes Sir, a persecution got up through the influence of religious bigotry by as vile as a set of men as ever disgraced the family of man. But their devices against him were brought to nought by that [p. 551] overruling power that controls all things and brings to nought the councils of the wicked. —Mr. Chairman, little did I think, that I was defending a boy that would rise to eminence like this man; a man whom God delights to honor as a prophet and leader of his people; —one to whom he has given the keys of heaven and earth, and the power of David, and said to him whatsoever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against you. And may he live to put his foot upon the neck of his enemies in love and meekness. I know, Sir, that God has made him a leader of many thousands of people, and may he teach them in meekness, and with that wisdom and judgement that God shall direct.

I add no more.

16. Lucy Smith also reported Reed's belief that he was inspired as he defended her son and that Reed recounted how he helped Joseph escape his enemies in Colesville (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:Frag. 6 [front]).

D.
Miscellaneous Late
SOURCES

1.
JOHN S. REED TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, 6 DECEMBER 1861

John S. Reed to Brigham Young, 6 December 1861, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

EDITORIAL NOTE

In 1861 John S. Reed[1] wrote to introduce his son Amos to Brigham Young.[2] Amos had recently been sent to Salt Lake City to clerk for James D. Doty,[3] the newly appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah Territory. Writing from his home in Mexico, Oswego County, New York, Reed rehearsed the events surrounding his legal defense of Joseph Smith at South Bainbridge and Colesville, New York, in July 1830. The four-page letter, now part of the Brigham Young Collection at the LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City, is difficult to read due to Reed's advanced age (seventy-seven) and, as he mentions, a trembling hand.

Mexico[,] December the 6th 1861
Oswego Co [New York]

Elder Brigham Young[.] Dear Sir[:] I take the Liberty of riting a few lines to you to inform you that i have a son Amos Reed that Started for your Cittey [of] Salt Lake—Utah Teretory the 16th of November from Chicago with Governor Dottey the Superintendant of Indian afares for <that> Teretory. my son goes out as a Clerk for him. if it wood [would] be propper hear ~~to~~ <[-]> for me to State whow [who] i am that take the Liberty of riting to you. my name is John S. Reed I lived in Bainbridg[e] at the time that Joseph Smith Lived thare and at the time he Joseph began to form a Church and to preform

---

1. On John S. Reed (1784-1878), see introduction to IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844.

2. On Brigham Young (1801-77), see introduction to III.K.19, BRIGHAM YOUNG ACCOUNTS, 1855 & 1857.

3. James Duane Doty (1799-1865) served as second territorial governor of Wisconsin (1841-44), Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah Territory (1861), and on appointment from Abraham Lincoln as governor of Utah Territory (1864) (*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* 1891-1980, 12:72).

the affair that god Called him to do. he then was followed by persecution. all hell was Let Loos[e] against him—about all the people said a with this fellow he is not fit to Live and the Devill poot [put] in the hart of one bad Nathan Boynton[4] to take him him up for the crime of Glass Looking and Juglin forten [fortune] telling and so on for witch the state of New York was again<st> it and made it a crime and the crime was a fine and imprisonment[5] and he was taken with a warent and brought to South Bainbrid[g]e in Chenango County whare i then Lived and he and the rest of the mormons[,] all told about 6 or 8[,] inga=ged <with> me and won [one] [James] Davidson[6] to manag[e] that sute [suit] and to clear him if possible[.] we begun the cause 9 a clock in the morning and and the cause [was] hur[d] untill the next morning about 4 of the Clock then he was a quitted.[7] we [had a] hard tim[e] at you may Depend for all the children of the Devill ware a gainst him but we sho[w]ed them all skeything [scathing] and as soon as the cort cleared he was [p. 1] he was taking with another warent and took to Colesville, Countey of Broom[e] ~~Countey~~ to try him those thare was [more] shure to convict him than in that [other] Countey. the Mormons insisted hard that my self and my colleage shood go down and try our Luck [and] again clear him if possible we ware mutch dout out with tryin[g] [to] prove [such?] but we went down[.] the sute [suit] comminced at 9 o clock.[8] all of 400 peopple had collectted to Gether that day yit [yet] seamed as if all Hell had Let Loose for the porpose of desstro[y]ing that Innocent and Boundless boy. but i beli[e]ve to this Day that God was on his side to diliver him from them wicked sons of bitc[h]es for that Boy Joseph sat thare aparently as unconcarned as if he was in his one [own] farthers house and when a hard witness wood com[e] upon the stand [and] i wood say to him that our case Looked bad he said with a smile apon his countanance i shall be cleared[;] doe your duty and fear not. our cort lasted till the next morning at brake of day—about 30 witness[es] was on the stand. thay all came forward

---

4. Where Reed names Nathan Boynton as the main instigator of Joseph Smith's 1830 trials, so does Smith, although Smith also named "a young man named Benton" as the person who "swore out the first warrant" (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 48). On Nathan Boynton (1788-1860), see ibid., n. 161.

5. New York law included in its definition of "disorderly persons" "all persons ... pretending to tell fortunes, and where lost or stolen goods may be found" (*Laws of the State of New York, Revised,* 1813, 1:114, sec. 1; see also IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826).

6. On James Davidson (1779-1847), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 146.

7. See IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844, n. 8.

8. See IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844, n. 12.

knowing everything and apon cross examanation thay knew nothing. we showed thare testimony skeything [scathing]—but all of them was full of spite and malles [malice] a gainst that boy whom God rased up for the perpose of collecting a church of the first Born. well sir it fell to my Lot to mak[e] the Last ple[a] to the cort[.] three Justic[e]s ware on the bench.[9] I now in my turn with tremblin[g] Lems [limbs]—but i had not stood Long apon the floor before that cort before my tung was Loosed from the ruff of my mouth and it did seame to me and has ever sence that time [p. 2] inspired By that god that stood by that bo[u]ndless Boy to clear and deliver him from the <h>and of the Devill[.] i <spoke> one hour and a half and with my weak abilit[i]es i melted part of that assem=bly into Tears and two of the Justic[e]s cood not help thare tears from falling down thare cheak and one of the Justic[e]s[10] his hart was hard as a milstone but he Looked very Sober but my dear Sir i wish not to bost of my weak abilit[i]es but it was said by them [who] heard me that it was my master plea that i ever made before or since that time and i have mad[e] a grate manney. after the cause was Left to the cort thay in a few minets [minutes] cleared him from the complaint—then the people had made those calculations to abuse him and i was down stares to amuse the people whilst my colleage and the Mormons got Joseph out of the house and he went down to the grate bend in Pensylvan[i]a and thare those translated his Bible[11] and i never saw him a gain till 184[4]. i think at that date but it was the year that he was murd[er]ed. i went to Ilinois to vue [view] the the country i went on to Navoo to sea brother Joseph [Smith] and to visit my old nebore and a famely of [slaves?] by the name of Slade[12] and his famely by the name of Peck,

---

9. See IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844, n. 13.

10. Perhaps Justice Joel K. Noble who later expressed contempt for Joseph Smith (see IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842).

11. Reed's statement that Smith returned to Harmony in July 1830 to work on the translation is an error since the Book of Mormon was released for sale the previous March.

12. Perhaps Newel Slade. In his bill of costs for 20 May 1826, Justice Levi Bigelow of South Bainbridge recorded: "To oath & warrant People vs John Reed & Newell Slade 31½ / Notifying two Justices 50 / Attending two Trials 2— / divisional Cost 28" (Levi Bigelow, Bill of costs, 1826, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York; see also IV.F.3, PHILIP DEZENG BILL OF COSTS, 1826). Perhaps there is a connection between this Slade and the one who lived in or near Nauvoo in 1844, although I have been unable to establish it.

Hezekia[h][13] and Nore [Martha?].[14] i slept at Josefs 6 days and a happy meeting we had you may depend. i then took leave of Absence of him to goe to to [the] north part of the state[.] he [made] me promis[e] to com[e] back that way and call apon him and he wood and he wood Gave me a deed of 50 acres of Land i was Absent about 5 or 6 weaks and i got Back the day that that he and Hiram <was> murdred at Springfield [Carthage] [p. 3] the next day thay was brought in to Nauvoo cold in de[a]th and what a cite it was to behold two men of standing and thare abiletes [abilities] shod [should] Loos thare Lives by a mob that was not worthey to Live among the children of men. But my fading was [a] bitter [Lot therfore?] i said to my Self that i had sean the first acts of Josefs Life and know my Eyce [eyes] has sean the Last of gods an[o]inted and i said to sum of the Le[a]ding mormons that the blood of Josef wood Be the seal of the Church and i have found that my provicey [prophesy] had bin folfilled—for i have followed you in all the movement[s] of the church—and find you are a Grate people and your church is astablish[ed] on Josephs god. and now see it aprased that god has rased you up in the place of Joseph to head his ch=urch threw the wilderness of this Life as he did Aron after the deth of Moses. But i trembled for your church under the adminestration of [President James] Buckanan, the American Judes [Judas] and the sennet [senate] the children of the Devill. i was afrade thay wood [d]evour you and the church but i found you was too cunning for them for you depended apon Josephs god and he delive[re]d you o[u]t of the furness of afliktions and not a smell of fire apon your garments—as you[']r[e] the seckent [second] Joseph. may god have you in his holy kipp=ing [keeping] and Lead your church in to [Jesus?] [-] make them happy in this [-] Life and when time shall be no more and the [Lords Congraled?] shall meet Together[,] then if the bible is correct then we shall sea as we are [were] wonce sean and know as we once ~~sean~~ knew then we shall viw [view] him and him in [-] of perfection and in simple Love shouting gods prac [praise] to all [aterni?]=ty may this be the happy Lot of all the Mormon Church and all manking [mankind] exceptting the grate A=merican Judes [Judas] and those that have shed inecent blood[.] Let them go to thare own place. It wood [be] very pleasing to my son for you to form acquaintenc[e] with my kin. he is in a stra[n]g[e] Land far from home i think your time wood be well spent he will not doe you nor the Church any harm i have rote him a Letter to get acquainted with Mormon Leaders then he wood feel at home i have spune [spun] this out Longer than i ment.

---

13. On Hezekiah Peck (1782-1859), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 132.

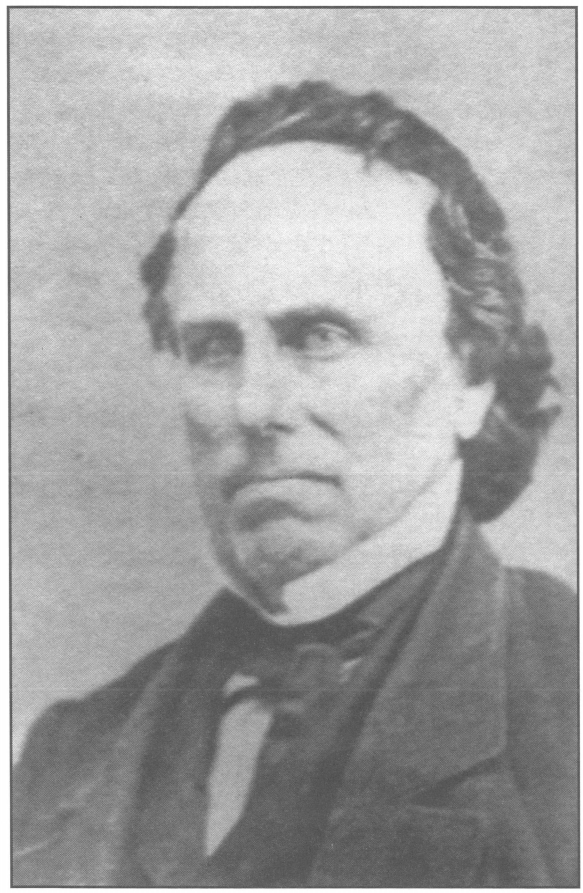
14. On Martha Long Peck (1789-?), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 133.

I remain your humble servint [& brother?
John S. Reid

Eld[er] Brigham Young [p. 4]

[*Following written upside down at the top of page 2:*]

my dear sir, I am 77 years of age. My hand Tremble[s] you must peck it out the best you can



William D. Purple. Date and photographer unknown. Original at Moore Memorial Library, Greene, New York.

2.
WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APRIL 1877

W[illiam]. D. Purple, "Joseph Smith, the Originator of Mormonism. Historical Reminiscences of the Town of Afton," *Chenango Union* (Norwich, New York) 30 (3 May 1877): 3. Two reprints of Purple's article are also available: an unidentified newspaper clipping, ca. May 1877, W. D. Purple Scrapbook, 60-[62], Moore Memorial Library, Greene, New York; and an unidentified newspaper clipping, ca. May 1877, in Charles L. Woodward, *The First Half Century of Mormonism. Papers, Engravings, Photographs, and Autograph Letters, Collected and Arranged by Charles L. Woodward,* 2 vols. (New York, 1880), 2:248-51, New York Public Library, New York, New York.

EDITORIAL NOTE

William D. Purple (1802-86), a physician who moved to South Bainbridge, New York, about 1824, claims to have attended Joseph Smith's 1826 court hearing in that town and to have kept notes at Justice Albert Neely's request. Purple's presence in South Bainbridge is attested to in a number of legal documents for 1826 and 1827 (Walters 1974, 132, n. 16). He practiced medicine at South Bainbridge from 1824 to 1830 and served as town clerk in 1829. In 1830 he moved to Coventry, then returned to his home town of Greene, Chenango County, where he spent the remainder of his life. At Greene, he served as town clerk, postmaster (1853-61), president of the county's Medical Society (1838-39), and county historian. He was a Freemason since at least 1825 and served as master of the Greene lodge (1852-54, 1857, 1858). Regarding his efforts at history, fellow historian James H. Smith wrote: "Dr. Purple possesses a remarkably retentive memory, and his mind is a rich store-house of facts and incidents connected with the early settlements in this locality, with which he is probably more conversant than any other individual in the southern part of the county. His efforts to rescue from oblivion the intensely interesting facts which enter into the early chapters of the county's history, and which one [finds] rapidly passing out of the reach of the present generation, are worthy of the highest commendation and of more general emulation" (J. H. Smith 1880, 207). Purple died on 18 May 1886 at Greene (see J. H. Smith 1880, 100-101, 167, 170, 204-6; Death Records, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York; [Obituary],

Chenango American, 27 May 1886, 3; J. P. Walker 1986, 329-30; Cochrane 1967, 9, 89-90, 99-100).

Wesley P. Walters believed that Purple's notes "[i]n all probability ... were entered into Neely's Docket Book, or at least provided the basis for the record of the trial recorded there" (Walters 1974, 131). This note keeping has created some misunderstanding about the nature of Purple's 1877 reminiscence. Gordon A. Madsen, for example, represented Purple as claiming "to have generated his version from notes and memory" (Madsen 1990, 91; cf. M. Hill 1972, 229). Purple never said he was aided by his court notes when writing his reminiscence; the fact that he errs on the date by about a month would indicate otherwise. While inconsistencies between his late reminiscence and the court record might at times challenge the accuracy of his memory, they should not be considered grounds for questioning the authenticity of the court record, as some researchers have assumed (Kirkham 1951, 2:357-58; Madsen 1990, 103). Where discrepancies occur, the court record should be given preference.

At the end of the court record, Justice Neely's itemization indicates that seven witnesses testified, whereas he recorded the testimony of only five (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). Purple recounts three witnesses' testimonies: those of Josiah Stowell, Jonathan Thompson, and Joseph Smith, Sr. Justice Neely included Stowell's and Thompson's but not Joseph Sr.'s statements. Since justices were required to record only testimony "relative to the fact" or "material to prove the offence" (*New Conductor Generalis,* 1819, 141), the substance of what Joseph Sr. and one other witness had to say must have been deemed immaterial to the case.

Dale Morgan credited Fawn Brodie with uncovering Purple's reminiscence in the early 1940s (J. P. Walker 1986, 329). Yet, Purple's account in the *Chenango Union* was known to I. Woodbridge Riley in 1902 (see Riley 1903, 188-89, n. 28). The original newspaper is located at the Guernsey Memorial Library, Norwich, New York; a clipping of this article is also located in a scrapbook of Mormon pamphlets, vol. 2, item 5, Theodore A. Schroeder Collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin; two additional printings in unidentified newspapers have also been located (see above). Purple's account became the basis of an article in the *Bainbridge* (NY) *Republican,* 23 August 1877 (see IV.D.3). In searching for more documents, Walters reported: "Dr. Purple reportedly also corresponded about the trial with Mrs. Dan Holleran, an ardent South Bainbridge (now Afton) historian. However, her daughter, Mrs. Mildred Klingman of Afton, has lost track of this correspondence and other relatives are equally at a

loss in providing any clue as to what became of the letters" (Walters 1974, 132, n. 16).

More than fifty years since, at the commencement of his professional career, the writer spent a year in the present village of Afton, in this County. It was then called South Bainbridge, and was in striking contrast with the present village at the same place. It was a mere hamlet, with one store and one tavern. The scenes and incidents of that early day are vividly engraven upon his memory, by reason of his having written them when they occurred, and by reason of his public and private rehearsals of them in later years. He will now present them as historical reminiscences of old Chenango, and as a precursor of the advent of that wonder of the age, Mormonism.

In the year 1825[1] we often saw in that quiet hamlet, Joseph Smith, Jr., the author of the Golden Bible, or the Books of Mormon. He was an inmate of the family of Deacon Isaiah [Josiah] Stowell,[2] who resided some two miles below the village, on the Susquehanna. Mr. Stowell was a man of much force of character, of indomitable will, and well fitted as a pioneer in the unbroken wilderness that this country possessed at the close of the last century. He was one of the Vermont sufferers, who for defective titles, consequent on the forming a new State from a part of Massachusetts, in 1791, received wild lands in Bainbridge. He had been educated in the spirit of orthodox puritanism, and was officially connected with the first Presbyterian church of the town, organized by Rev. Mr. Chapin.[3] He was a very industrious, exemplary man, and by severe labor and frugality had acquired surroundings that excited the envy of many of his less fortunate neighbors. He had at this time grown up sons and daughters to share his prosperity and the honors of his name.

About this time [1825] he took upon himself a monomaniacal impression to seek for hidden treasures which he believed were buried in the earth. He hired help and repaired to Northern Pennsylvania, in the vicinity of Lanesboro, to prosecute his search for untold wealth which he believed to be buried there. Whether it was the

---

1. Joseph Smith first appeared in South Bainbridge with Josiah Stowell about October/November 1825.

2. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

3. In 1797 or 1798 Joel Chapin organized the first Congregationalist church in Jericho (changed to North Bainbridge in 1814) (S. S. Randall 1874, 92).

"Ninety bars of gold
And dollars many fold."

that Capt. Robert Kidd, the pirate of a preceding century, had despoiled the commerce of the world, we are not able to say, but that he took his help and provisions from home, and camped out on the black hills of that region for weeks at a time, was freely admitted by himself and family.

What success, if any, attended these excursions, is unknown, but his hallucination adhered to him like the fabled shirt of Nessus, and had entire control over his mental character. The admonition of his neighbors, the members of his church, and the importunities of his family, had no impression on his wayward spirit.

There had lived a few years previous to this date, in the vicinity of Great Bend, a poor man named Joseph Smith [Sr.], who, with his family, had removed to the western part of the State, and lived in squallid poverty near Palmyra, in Ontario County.[4] Mr. Stowell, while at Lanesboro, heard of the fame of one of his sons, named Joseph, who, by the aid of a magic stone had become a famous seer of lost or hidden treasures.[5] These stories were fully received into his credulous mind, and kindled into a blaze his cherished hallucination. Visions of untold wealth appeared through this instrumentality, to his longing eyes. He harnessed his team, and filled his wagon with provisions for "man and beast," and started for the residence of the Smith family. In due time he arrived at the humble log cabin,[6] midway between Canandaigua and Palmyra, and found the sought for treasure in the person of Joseph Smith, Jr.,

---

4. Purple reflects the false legend that the Smiths once lived in the Susquehanna area before locating in Palmyra (see also IV.D.3, *BAINBRIDGE* [PA] *REPUBLICAN,* 23 AUG 1877; IV.D.13, HARVEY BAKER REMINISCENCE, 1900). Prior to meeting Josiah Stowell in Manchester, New York, in October 1825, Smith had not been to the vicinity of Great Bend in Pennsylvania. Similarly, Joel K. Noble claimed that Joseph Smith, Sr., lived near the Mohawk River in New York before moving to Palmyra (IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 1). Neither Noble's nor Purple's assertions can be substantiated and are assumed to be incorrect.

5. Lucy Smith said that Stowell came to Joseph Jr. "on account of having heard that he possessed certain keys, by which he could discern things invisible to the natural eye" (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, 1853:91-92). Stowell likely heard about Joseph's scrying through his son Simpson Stowell who lived in Manchester in 1825 (see IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826, n. 24).

6. Mention of the cabin is an interesting detail. Stowell arrived at Manchester in October 1825 before the Smiths completed their frame house, al-

a lad of some eighteen years of age.[7] He, with the magic stone, was at once transferred from his humble abode to the more pretentious mansion of Deacon Stowell. Here, in the estimation of the Deacon, he confirmed his conceded powers as a seer, by means of the stone which he placed in his hat, and by excluding the light from all other terrestrial things, could see whatever he wished, even in the depths of the earth. This omniscient attribute he firmly claimed. Deacon Stowell and others as firmly believed it. Mr. Stowell, with his ward[8] and two hired men,[9] who were, or professed to be, believers, spent much time in mining near the State line on the Susquehanna and many other

---

though at least some of the family already occupied the unfinished home (see I.B.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 8; I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, 1853:91).

7. Smith was nineteen years old in late 1825. In supporting an 1823 date for "Smith's first acquaintance with Stowell," D. Michael Quinn cites Purple's statement that Smith was "a lad of some eighteen years of age" (Quinn 1998, 49). However, Smith was seventeen in the "summer of 1823," not eighteen. Regardless, Purple recounts events that occurred in 1825, stating that Joseph first appeared in South Bainbridge "[i]n the year 1825" and that it was "[a]bout this time" that Stowell began searching for treasures. He states that Stowell was searching for treasure in northern Pennsylvania when he heard of Smith. According to the November 1825 "Articles of Agreement," this activity occurred "during a considerable part of the past summer" (V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825). When Stowell visited Manchester and hired Smith, the latter was "at once transferred from his humble abode to the more pretentious mansion of Deacon Stowell," according to Purple. This 1825 date is supported by Joseph Smith (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 7-8), Lucy Smith (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, 1853:91-92), and Josiah Stowell (IV.B.1, JOSIAH STOWELL, JR., TO JOHN S. FULLMER, 17 FEB 1843, n. 13). See also IV.D.3, *BAINBRIDGE* (NY) *REPUBLICAN,* 23 AUG 1877, which in rewriting Purple's account changed Smith's age to "about twenty years of age."

8. This reference to someone under Stowell's guardianship is incorrect since Joseph Smith, Sr., was also present (V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825).

9. One of these men was Jonathan Thompson. Purple later states that Thompson was "an employee of Mr. Stowell" and that he and "another man were employed in digging for treasure, and always attended the Deacon and Smith in their nocturnal labors." The second man may have been a Mr. "Yeomans" mentioned in the court record (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). That these money-digging excursions were subsequent to Stowell's Harmony, Pennsylvania, venture of November 1825 is clear from the fact that Thompson's name does not appear in the Articles of Agreement (see V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825).

places. I myself have seen the evidence of their nocturnal depredations on the face of Mother Earth, on the Deacon's farm, with what success "this deponent saith not."[10]

In February, 1826, the sons of Mr. Stowell, who lived with their father, were greatly incensed against Smith, as they plainly saw their father squandering his property in the fruitless search for hidden treasures, and saw that the youthful seer had unlimited control over the illusions of their sire. They made up their minds that "patience had ceased to be a virtue," and resolved to rid themselves and their family from this incubus, who, as they believed, was eating up their substance, and depriving them of their anticipated patrimony. They caused the arrest of Smith[11] as a vagrant, without visible means of livelihood.[12] The trial came on in the above mentioned month,[13] before Albert Neeley, Esq.,[14] the father of Bishop [Henry Adams] Neeley,[15] of the

---

10. Martin Harris mentioned that Stowell dug on his own property "on the Susquehannah flats" near the river (see III.F.10, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEW WITH JOEL TIFFANY, 1859, 166). In addition, folklore attributes three holes in the most prominent hill in South Bainbridge, west of the village and northeast of Stowell's former home, to Joseph Smith. The holes are a mile northeast of Stowell's farm in the northeast quadrant of Afton Lot 59 (see Vogel 1994, 221-22). These are perhaps the same holes mentioned by Lu B. Cake in 1912 (see IV.D.12, LU B. CAKE ACCOUNTS, 1899 & 1912).

11. The court record states that the warrant was issued "upon written complaint upon oath of Peter G. Bridgeman," a nephew of Stowell's (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). However, the contradiction may only be apparent since it is possible for Stowell's sons to have "caused" Smith's arrest without personally requesting the warrant. Although Purple remembered that the "affidavits" of Stowell's sons were read, they would not necessarily be part of the court record.

12. The court record has Smith arrested for being a "disorderly person" (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). The Vagrant Act in early New York law, officially titled "An ACT for apprehending and punishing disorderly Persons," included in its definition "all persons pretending to tell fortunes, or where lost or stolen goods may be found" (*Laws of the State of New York, Revised,* 1813, 1:114, sec. 1; cf. Walters 1977, 124, n. 8; Madsen 1990, 93). See also VI.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 1, which also states that Smith was tried "under the Vagrant act."

13. While events leading to Smith's arrest may have occurred in February 1826, the trial occurred on 20 March 1826 (see IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826).

14. On Albert Neely (1798-1857), see introduction to IV.F.2, ALBERT NEELY BILL OF COSTS, 1826.

15. Henry Adams Neely (1830-99) was born in Fayetteville, Onondaga

State of Maine. I was an intimate friend of the Justice, and was invited to take notes of the trial, which I did. There was a large collection of persons in attendance, and the proceedings attracted much attention.

The affidavits of the sons were read, and Mr. [Joseph] Smith [Jr.] was fully examined by the Court.[16] It elicited little but a history of his life from early boyhood, but this is so unique in character, and so much of a key note to his subsequent career in the world, I am tempted to give it somewhat *in extenso*. He said when he was a lad, he heard of a neighboring girl[17] some three miles from him, who could look into a glass and see anything however hidden from others; that he was seized with a strong desire to see her and her glass; that after much effort he induced his parents to let him visit her. He did so, and was permitted to look in the glass, which was placed in a hat to exclude the light. He was greatly surprised to see but one thing, which was a small stone, a great way off. It soon became luminous, and dazzled his eyes, and after a short time it became as intense as the mid-day sun. He said that the stone was under the roots of a tree or shrub as large as his arm, situated about a

---

County, New York. He graduated from Geneva (now Hobart) College in 1849 and was ordained in 1852. He was rector of Calvary Church in Utica, 1853-55, and rector of Christ Church at Rochester, 1855-62. He then served as Chaplin of Hobart College. On 25 January 1867 he was consecrated Second Bishop of Maine where he served twenty-five years. He died in Portland, Maine (Henry A. Neely file, Onondaga Historical Society, Syracuse, New York).

16. The court record confirms that Neely examined Joseph Smith, Jr., but the substance of the examination, as it appears in the court record, does not corroborate Purple's account. Still, Neely seems to have summarized what Purple details: "[H]e has occasionally been in the habit of looking through this stone to find lost property for 3 years" (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). Dale Morgan noted: "[Purple's] recollection of the testimony given are fuller than the information that is developed by the laconic court record, and it is not impossible that there had been some enlargement of Dr. Purple's memory with the passing of years. But it may also be noted, painful as the idea may be to Mormon sensibilities, that though the fantastic story of the search after a seer stone is not verifiable in other sources, it by no means follows that this story, true or false, was not related to the court. Mormon and non-Mormon accounts alike agree that the youthful Joseph Smith had a remarkable imagination and a well-developed talent as a teller of tales" (J. P. Walker 1986, 331).

17. Perhaps a reference to Sally Chase (Quinn 1987, 39). S. F. Anderick claimed Sally Chase "told me several times that young Jo Smith ... often came to inquire of her where to dig for treasures" (III.D.8, S. F. ANDERICK STATEMENT, 24 JUN 1887; cf. I.C.1, JOSEPH SMITH, SR., INTERVIEW WITH FAYETTE LAPHAM, 1830, 306).

mile up a small stream that puts in on the South side of Lake Erie, not far from the New York and Pennsylvania line. He often had an opportunity to look in the glass, and with the same result. The luminous stone alone attracted his attention. This singular circumstance occupied his mind for some years, when he left his father's house, and with his youthful zeal traveled west in search of this luminous stone.

He took a few shillings in money and some provisions with him. He stopped on the road with a farmer, and worked three days, and replenished his means of support. After traveling some one hundred and fifty miles he found himself at the mouth of the creek. He did not have the glass with him, but he knew its exact location. He borrowed an old ax and a hoe, and repaired to the tree. With some labor and exertion he found the stone, carried it to the creek, washed and wiped it dry, sat down on the bank, placed it in his hat, and discovered that time, place and distance were annihilated; that all intervening obstacles were removed, and that he possessed one of the attributes of Deity, an All-Seeing-Eye. He arose with a thankful heart, carried his tools to their owner, turned his feet towards the rising sun, and sought with weary limbs his long deserted home.[18]

On the request of the Court, he exhibited the stone. It was about the size of a small hen's egg, in the shape of a high instepped shoe. It was composed of layers of different colors passing diagonally through it. It was very hard and smooth, perhaps by being carried in the pocket.[19]

Joseph Smith, Sr.,[20] was present, and sworn as a witness. He confirmed

---

18. D. Michael Quinn has suggested that this was the occasion on which Smith found his first seer stone, described in the 1826 court record as a white stone (Quinn 1987, 39-40). However, Purple believed that the story Smith related to the court pertained to a dark-colored stone, which Purple describes below. While Quinn believes Purple was mistaken, it is also possible that Smith told different stories about the origin of his brown stone. According to Brigham Young: "[T]he stone which Joseph Smith first obtained He got in an Iron Kettle 25 feet under ground. He saw it while looking in another seers stone which a person had. He went right to the spot & dug & found it" (Kenney 1983-85, 5:382-83; Quinn 1987, 39). It is difficult to harmonize all the stories relating to these seer stones.

19. The court record indicates that Smith had at least two stones: one a "dark coloured stone," the other a "white stone" (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). However, the dark stone, which Purple describes as shaped like a shoe, was found while digging a well on the Chase property in Manchester, New York, in 1822 (see III.A.14, WILLARD CHASE STATEMENT, CIRCA 11 DEC 1833, 240-41; Quinn 1987, 40-41, 196).

20. Joseph Smith, Sr.'s, testimony is not recorded in the court record,

at great length all that his son had said in his examination. He delineated his [Joseph Smith, Jr.'s,] characteristics in his youthful days—his vision of the luminous stone in the glass—his visit to Lake Erie in search of the stone—and his wonderful triumphs as a seer. He described very many instances of his finding hidden and stolen goods. He swore that both he and his son were mortified that this wonderful power which God had so miraculously given him should be used only in search of filthy lucre, or its equivalent in earthly treasures, and with a long-faced, "sanctimonious seeming," he said his constant prayer to his Heavenly Father was to manifest His will concerning this marvelous power. He trusted that the Son of Righteousness would some day illumine the heart of the boy, and enable him to see His will concerning him. Those words have ever had a strong impression on my mind. They seemed to contain a prophetic vision of the future history of that mighty delusion of the present century, Mormonism. The "old man eloquent," with his lank and haggard visage—his form very poorly clad—indicating a wandering vagabond rather than an oracle of future events, has, in view of those events, excited my wonder, if not my admiration.

The next witness called was Deacon Isaiah [Josiah] Stowell.[21] He confirmed all that is said above in relation to himself, and delineated many other circumstances not necessary to record. He swore that the prisoner possessed all the power he claimed and declared he could see things fifty feet below the surface of the earth, as plain as the witness could see what was on the Justices' table, and described very many circumstances to confirm his words. Justice Neeley soberly looked at the witness, and in a solemn, dignified voice said:

---

probably because justices were required to record only what was "relative to the fact" or "material to prove the offence" (*New Conductor Generalis,* 1819, 141). Neely evidently deemed some testimony immaterial since he recorded only five testimonies, while the itemization at the end of the court record indicates that there were seven witnesses (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). On Joseph Smith, Sr. (1771-1840), see "Introduction to Joseph Smith, Sr., Collection."

21. A different version of Stowell's testimony appears in the court record (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). Probably neither source is a complete account, as Purple indicates by remarking that Stowell "delineated many other circumstances not necessary to record." He does state that the further testimony dealt with Smith's seeric ability, as described in the trial record. Additionally, Purple's quote of Stowell, "I positively know it to be true," seems to be reflected in the court's summary that Stowell "positively knew that the prisoner ... possess[es] the art of seeing those valuable treasures through the medium of said stone" and that Stowell "had the most implicit faith in prisoner's skill."

"Deacon Stowell, do I understand you as swearing before God, under the solemn oath you have taken, that you *believe* the prisoner can see by the aid of the stone fifty feet below the surface of the earth, as plainly as you can see what is on my table?" "Do I *believe* it?" says Deacon Stowell, "do I believe it? no, it is not a matter of belief: I positively know it to be true."

Mr. [Jonathan] Thompson,[22] an employee of Mr. Stowell, was the next witness. He and another man were employed in digging for treasure, and always attended the Deacon and Smith in their nocturnal labors. He could not assert that anything of value was ever obtained by them. The following scene was described by this witness, and carefully noted: Smith had told the Deacon that very many years before a band of robbers had buried on his flat a box of treasure, and as it was very valuable they had by a sacrifice placed a charm over it to protect it, so that it could not be obtained except by faith, accompanied by certain talismanic influences. So, after arming themselves with fasting and prayer, they sallied forth to the spot designated by Smith. Digging was commenced with fear and trembling, in the presence of this imaginary charm. In a few feet from the surface the box of treasure was struck by the shovel, on which they redoubled their energies, but it gradually receded from their grasp. One of the men placed his hand upon the box, but it gradually sunk from his reach. After some five feet in depth had been attained without success, a council of war against this spirit of darkness was called, and they resolved that the lack of faith, or of some untoward mental emotion, was the cause of their failure.

In this emergency the fruitful mind of Smith was called on to devise a way to obtain the prize. Mr. Stowell went to his flock and selected a fine vigorous lamb, and resolved to sacrifice it to the demon spirit who guarded the coveted treasure. Shortly after the venerable Deacon might be seen on his knees at prayer near the pit, while Smith, with a lantern in one hand to dispel the midnight darkness, might be seen making a circuit around the pit, sprinkling the flowing blood from the lamb upon the ground, as a preparation to the spirit that thwarted them. They then descended the excavation, but the treasure still receded from their grasp, and it was never obtained.[23]

---

22. Although similar to Thompson's testimony recorded in the 1826 court record, the story Purple recounts is different (cf. IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). On Jonathan Thompson (1787-?), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 149.

23. The court record does not include the account of sacrificing a sheep (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). Nevertheless, for other instances of sacrificing animals, see (for Colesville) IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, and IV.D.7,

What a picture for the pencil of a Hogarth! How difficult to believe it could have been enacted in the nineteenth century of the Christian era! It could have been done only by the hallucination of diseased minds, that drew all their philosophy from the Arabian nights and other kindred literature of that period! But as it was declared under oath, in a Court of Justice, by one of the actors in the scene, and not disputed by his co-laborers it is worthy of recital as evincing the spirit of delusion that characterized those who originated that prince of humbugs, Mormonism.

These scenes occurred some four years before Smith, by the aid of his luminous stone, found the Golden Bible, or the Book of Mormon. The writer may at some subsequent day give your readers a chapter on its discovery, and a synopsis of its contents.[24] It is hardly necessary to say that, as the testimony of Deacon Stowell could not be impeached, the prisoner was discharged,[25] and in a few weeks left the town.

Greene, April 28, 1877.

EMILY (COLBURN) AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 32-33; and (for Harmony) V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879, and V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 580.

24. Dale Morgan noted: "Evidently this was never done. No clipping of such an article was preserved in the Purple scrapbook, and, at the insistence of Dr. Kirkham, Mrs. Helen L. Fairbanks of the Guernsey Memorial Library, Norwich, New York, searched the files of the *Chenango Union* through 1880 without finding an article of the kind" (J. P. Walker 1986, 399, n. 19).

25. Purple's memory of the event is contradicted by the court record, which states that Smith was found "guilty" (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826), as well as by the earlier reports of Abram W. Benton and Joel K. Noble (IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831; IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842). More than fifty years after the event, Purple might have only remembered that a Court of Special Sessions had not been held and that Smith had not been jailed or fined. On the matter of the court's finding, see discussion in introduction to IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE (NY) COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826.

3.
BAINBRIDGE (NY) *REPUBLICAN*, 23 AUGUST 1877

"Joe Smith's Youthful Days. Deacon Stowell's Long Hunt for God—His Belief that Smith Could See Fifty Feet into the Earth," *Bainbridge* (NY) *Republican,* 23 August 1877, 2. Reprinted in *Montrose* (PA) *Democrat,* 19 September 1877.

EDITORIAL NOTE

This article is substantially a retelling of W. D. Purple's article printed in the *Chenango Union* on 2 May 1877. The editor of the *Republican,* N. E. Barton, has taken liberties with Purple's narrative, rearranging the material considerably and adding some detail. The reader is referred to IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877, for fuller documentation.

Half a century ago there lived on a farm in Afton, Chenango County, then called South Bainbridge, a good settler named Isaiah [Josiah] Stowell. He was strait and strong in dogma, and filled the responsible position of Deacon in the Presbyterian Church[1] to the edification of all people. By hard work and frugality Deacon Stowell accumulated a moderate competency, and his large family of broad-shouldered sons and rosy cheeked daughters were the envy of the neighborhood. But like many other good men the Deacon had his little weakness, and would make haste to be rich. There was no Stock Exchange in those days or he might have "gone broke on Jersey Central." As it was he contented himself with the faith (and practice) that untold sums of gold had been hidden in the earth by some extinct tribes of Indians or highwaymen or something of the sort, and that it was to be his especial good luck to find all this gold. Northern Pennsylvania, near Lanesboro and Susquehanna, was believed by him to be the gold bearing region, and with assistants and the proper tools he made frequent journeys to the wild country about Starrucco Creek[2] and spent weeks in delving in the rocky mountain

---

1. Purple referred to Stowell as "Deacon Stowell," while the present source explicitly states that Stowell held the office in his church.

2. Starrucca Creek joins the Susquehanna River above Lanesboro, Pennsylvania, several miles east of Oakland (formerly Harmony). Reference to

side at the rise of the Blue Ridge range.[3] During his searches Deacon Stowell and his party camped out in the woods, living upon the provisions he brought from his home in the fertile Chenango Valley and the game that filled the region in abundance. The concealed wealth that occupied his sleeping and waking thoughts he never found, but his constant failure and fresh outlays of money did not dampen his ardor. His family and the members of his Church remonstrated with him, but to no purpose.

It was during one of his digging excursions near Lanesboro that Deacon Stowell heard of the remarkable powers which Joseph Smith, a young fellow who had lived near Great Bend, about twenty miles south on the Susquehanna River, was reported to possess.[4] Smith, it was said, could see objects which lay fifty feet below the surface of the earth with entire distinctness. At this time, his father, a poverty stricken man, had removed with his family from Great Bend to the neighborhood of Palmyra, N.Y., and left only the fame of the son behind. But the stories told by the country folks were enough to fire the imagination of crazy Deacon Stowell, and he was determined to secure the assistance of young Smith at all odds. Stocking a wagon with enough provisions to last him for the journey, the Deacon harnessed a team and started for Palmyra. Young Joe Smith, who afterwards became the Mormon Prophet, was at this time about twenty years old,[5] and the neighbors looked upon him as ungodly and to be avoided. His spare moments were occupied in meditation and he very rarely joined his boyish acquaintances in their rustic sports. He pretended to possess the power of second sight, and had no hesitation in saying that he had been brought into the world by God to work out certain plans of the Almighty on earth. It is said that he was regular at his meals, however arduous his solitary wrestlings in spirit, and his preoccupation probably had a good deal to do with his father's poverty.

Crazy Deacon Stowell became Smith's disciple at once, and Smith told him the story of a wonderful stone he had found. According to this story

---

Starrucca Creek is evidently intended as a general geographic designation. On the location of Stowell's digging, see introduction to V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825.

3. Blue Ridge is located in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, between the Delaware and Lehigh Rivers (see Eagle 1876, 969, 971-72; Stocker 1887, 44). It is doubtful that Stowell dug for treasure at this location.

4. Regarding the claim that the Smiths lived in the Susquehanna area prior to their residence in New York, see IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877, n. 4.

5. Note that the *Republican* changed Smith's age from "some eighteen years of age" (1824) to "about twenty years old" (1826). Smith was nineteen at the time in question.

Smith, when quite a boy, heard of a young girl living within a few miles of his father's house, who possessed a magic glass by looking into which she could see objects that were invisible to others. Young Joe was seized with an irresistible desire to see this wonderful glass, and obtained that boon. The glass was put into a hat to exclude the light, and the boy gazed. For a long time he saw nothing, but finally a speck appeared which assumed the proportions of a small stone, seemingly a long way off. The stone, grew brighter and brighter, until it finally glowed like a calcium light or—since this was 1820[6]—like the sun at noonday. At last the glass showed him that the stone was hidden under the roots of a small tree on the south side of Lake Erie, not far from tha [the] boundary line between New York and Pennsylvania. Often afterwards Smith looked in the glass seeing only the same sight, and, after thinking and pondering on the subject for several years, determined to find the stone. Equipped with a few shillings in cash and a bundle of provisions, he started on foot toward the West. When money and food gave out, he supplied himself by working at farm houses on the way until he was able to renew his travels. After walking 150 miles he found himself at the mouth of a creek which he remembered seeing in the glass. A farmer lent [him] a pick and shovel, and he soon found the tree and the magic stone. The latter he carried to the creek, washed the dirt from its smooth surface and gazed "into" it. To his great joy he found that he was possessed of an all-seeing eye, whose vision penetrated water and annihilated space. The stone was of the size of a hen's egg, curved in the shape of a high-stepped shoe, and was composed of layers of different colors passing diagonally through it. Joseph returned his borrowed tools, and with a glad heart turned toward the rising sun and walked home.

The good Deacon used his powers of entreaty so well that young Smith agreed to return with him and aid in the search for gold. Meantime Deacon Stowell purchased a farm at Susquehanna and moved his family there from Afton.[7] The young prophet was installed therein not exactly to the satisfaction of the other members of the family. Smith, by the aid of his magic stone, ascertained that many years before a band of robbers had buried a box of treasure in certain flat lands on the deacon's farm. To protect this treasure, Smith said, the robbers had by sacrifice laid a charm upon it, so that it could not be recovered except by faith and certain talismanic influences. The diggers prepared themselves for work by fasting and prayer for several days. Smith as-

---

6. Purple gave no date for Smith's discovery of the stone. The authority of the *Republican*'s date is unknown.

7. The detail about Stowell's move from Afton Village (South Bainbridge) to a farm on the Susquehanna River is not found in Purple's account.

sured the Deacon that it was utterly useless for him to begin digging without an absolute faith that the labor would be successful. When the Deacon had banished all his doubts the party went to work with awe in the presence of the charm. A few feet from the surface a shovel in the hands of the Deacon touched a hard substance, and hastily throwing back the dirt he discovered the top of a square wooden chest, bound with hoops of iron. But while Smith, Stowell and their assistant, one [Jonathan] Thompson, were gazing with awe and wonder on the sight[,] the box gradually sank in the ground and was soon gone. They dug and uncovered it again, and it disappeared again. This was kept up till it ceased to be amusing, and Smith was called upon to dispel the charm. He gave Deacon Stowell some instructions. The latter, sending his Presbyterian training to the wind, went to his stock yard and selected a ewe lamb, the finest in the fold, with pure white skin and fleece. It was washed until it was perfectly spotless. Meanwhile darkness settled down over the Susquehanna Valley, and the rites for the propitiation of the demon who guarded the treasure was carried on by the light of a single lantern. The lamb was brought to the edge of the pit, and a bowl placed in readiness to catch its blood. The Deacon got upon his knees and prayed, probably to the demon, while Smith drew the sacrificial butcherknife across the lamb's throat, and then moved in circles about the pit, sprinkling the blood around it. Then the party resumed their picks and shovels, but couldn't even find the top of the box any more.

Deacon Stowell and Joe Smith kept up this circus in various promising places for awhile, but the Deacon never got any hidden treasury, and slowly but surely was spending the competence he had amassed. His sons become very much incensed against Smith, alleging that he had unlimited control over the actions of their father and caused him to foolishly squander his property. In February 1856 [1826], the sons caused Joe's arrest as a vagrant, and the trial occur[r]ed before Albert Neely, esq., father of Bishop [Henry Adams] Neely, of Maine. The country folks for miles around attended the trial. The affidavits of the sons were read, and the prophet was put upon the stand. He testified to but little concerning the charge on which he was arrested, but gave the history of his youthful days, told about the finding of the magic stone, and claimed to possess all the powers which the infatuated Deacon believed to reside in him. The magic stone was exhibited in court. Joseph Smith, Sr., the father of the prophet, who is described as having been a most disreputable looking person, testified in his son's behalf describing his wonderful success as a seer. Deacon Stowell also testified in the prophet's behalf, and gave many circumstances corroborative of the supernatural powers possessed by the young man. Young Smith, he said, could see things fifty feet be-

low the surface of the ground as plainly as he could see the articles on the Judge's table.

"Deacon Stowell, do I understand you as swearing before God, under solemn oath you have taken, that you believe that?"

"Do I believe it?" was the reply, "Do I believe it! No; it is not a matter of belief. I positively know it to be true."

Thompson, one of the employe[e]s of Deacon Stowell, related the story of the mysterious sinking of the box told above. Smith was discharged mainly on the testimony of Deacon Stowell, and he continued to reside in the neighborhood. About four years after, it is said, Smith, by the aid of his magic stone, found the Book of Mormon. This Elder [Orson] Pratt, of the Mormon Church, says it was when he was but fourteen years old, but the people of Susquehanna say he was nearer twenty-five.[8]

8. The *Republican* errs since Pratt claimed Smith's first vision, which had nothing to do with the Book of Mormon, occurred when Smith was "about fourteen or fifteen years old." According to Pratt, Smith first learned about the plates in 1823, at age seventeen, and removed the plates from the hill in 1827, at age twenty-one (see I.A.17, ORSON PRATT ACCOUNT, 1840, 3-4, 6, 12).

4.
WILLIAM S. SAYRE TO JAMES T. COBB, 31 AUGUST 1878

William S. Sayre to James T. Cobb, 31 August 1878, Theodore A. Schroeder Papers, Archives, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

EDITORIAL NOTE

William Strong Sayre (1803-80) was born in Romulus, New York, and moved to South Bainbridge, New York, in April 1827. A history of Chenango County published in 1874 states that Sayre "commenced the practice of the law, in Bainbridge, in 1828, and achieved a high success in his profession. He was a graduate of Hamilton College, in the class of 1824, and a student, a year or two later, with David McMaster, now or late of Steuben, in the law-office of Messrs. Battolph and Thorp, in Norwich. Mr. Sayre is still practicing in the Court of Chenango, Broome, and the adjoining Counties; and is universally respected and esteemed for his abilities and moral worth" (Randall 1874, 93; see also Danforth 1987, 106-7). Sayre responded to a letter of inquiry from Salt Lake City newspaperman James T. Cobb, who was collecting documents for his projected book on Mormonism.

Bainbridge N.Y. Aug. 31. [18]78

Jas T. Cobb Esq

Dear Sir—

The Post Master of this place has just handed me a letter from you inquiring about Jos[eph] Smith the Morman. As I came to this town when a very young man 57 y[ea]rs ago, that is in April 1827, I happen to be able to answer some of your inquiries better perhaps than any other person in this region. The statement of Smith that he never was in Bainbridge might well have surprised you.[1] South Bainbridge was a part of the township of Bain=

1. Perhaps a reference to a passage in Joseph Smith's history. When a man named Ellmer claimed in October 1834 to have "heard Joe Smith preach in Bainbridge, Chenango county, New York, five years since; he knew it to be him, that he [Joseph Smith] was a dark complexioned man," Joseph Smith responded that he was not dark complexioned and that "five years ago I was not a preacher, as Ellmer represented; neither did I ever preach in Bainbridge" (J.

bridge until about 18~~29~~ <57>, & there was a village therein called, upto that time, *South* Bainbridge. It is now called Afton. Smith was in the south part [p. 1] of the town of Bainbridge for some time about the years 1826, 7 & 8, at least so <I> am well informed & have no doubt of. I never saw him but h<e>ard much about him some time after. In going from the South part of this town Smith would not natural=ly pass through the north part of the town in going to Palmira[,] Wayne Co.[,] N.Y., when I under=stood he came from, & when he claimed to have found the gold bible & the stone through which he look=ed to translate what he then ~~found~~ saw into the Morman Bible.

Hartwick[,] Otsego Co. N.Y. is about 40 miles north east from Bainbridge vil=lage, & about 6 miles further in about the same direction from South Bainbridge (now Afton). Smith resided for some time while he was composing his bible in the town of Colesville,[2] or was it in Windsor[,] Broome Co. at <a> place called Quauger or Oquaga.[3] Colesville was [p. 2] adjoin[in]g Bainbridge on the south & he probably was reputed to be living in the South part of Bainbridge. I knew John S. Reed[4] very well & heard of <the> circumstances of his defending Jo Smith.[5] The first I ever heard of Smith, & which caused me, in part, to make the remarks about him, which I did, in a his<t[ory?]> I wrote & delivered at a 4th of July celebration here in 1876,[6] was in the Spring (April) 1829[7]–I was travelling in the Stage between

---

Smith 1948, 2:169; see also *Messenger and Advocate* 1 [October 1834]: 4). Bainbridge is located about six miles north of South Bainbridge.

2. W. R. Hine also states that some translation was done in Colesville (IV.D.10, WILLIAM R. HINE STATEMENT, CIRCA MAR 1885). According to Smith, the translation occurred only in Harmony, Pennsylvania, and Fayette, New York.

3. Perhaps a reference to Ouaquaga in the northern section of Windsor township, the general location of "Monument Hill," where Josiah Stowell said Smith located gold (see IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826, n. 16). See map of South Bainbridge, Colesville, and Windsor.

4. On John Reed (1784-1878), see introduction to IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844.

5. See IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844; and VI.D.1, JOHN S.REED TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, 6 DEC 1861.

6. Sayre included an extract from his history on a separate sheet (see below).

7. He apparently met Harris as Harris returned from visiting Smith in Harmony, Pennsylvania, in March 1829, at which time Smith had received a revelation for him (Doctrine and Covenants 5, hereafter D&C; I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 11-13; V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834).

this place & Geneva[,] Ontario Co. which is within a few miles of Palmira, & a man whose name, to the best of my recollection, was Richards,[8] got into the Stage house when on <the> rout & Said he resided at Palmira, & had been to Quages, which was in the town of Colesville a few miles from South Bainbridge village to See Jos[eph] Smith, who had resided in Palmira, & had found a gold bible & stone in which he looked & was thereby enabled to translate the very ancient chara[c]ters which <he> found in the [p. 3] bible. He Said Smith was poor & was living in a house which had only one room <in which he could keep [for?]> & Smith had a sheet put up in one corner & went behind it from observation when he was writing the bible. He Said Smith kept the bible hid or covered up & put it in a hat & had the Stone which <he> found in Pal=mira & look[e]d through it & then wrote what he read in the bible. He Said <he> would not let him see the bible but let him feel of it when it was covered up. Smith read to him a good deal of the bible & he repeated to those in the Stage verse after verse of what Smith had read to him; & I afterwards remem=bered Some of the names <& language> when I read the Mormon bible. An other gentleman in <the> Stage who knew Richards, Said he [Richards] was a man of Some property & had lent Smith money, & he had been trying to get pay. That he was Crazy on the subject of religion & Smith had duped him into a belief that [there] was a prospect [of return] & [that he] had found [that] the books history [was] on the lost tribes of Israel. This gentleman said he did not believe that Jos[eph] was capable of composing any thing, but that Jo's father was a man of some education & cunning & shr[ewd], & he thought he was at the bottom of the matter, & had made the bible & was duping others through Joe, & that there were cheating Richards out of his money.

I knew "Stowell"[9] to whom you allude slightly. He was afterwards a Mormon & went away to <the> west with Smith[10] He was generally laughed at as <a> foolish fanatic ~~Smith~~ He lived in the town of Bainbridge.

---

8. This "Richards" was likely the same man mentioned in Harris's 1870 statement as a Mr. "Rogers," whom Harris said was opposed to Smith (III.F.15, MARTIN HARRIS TESTIMONY, 4 SEP 1870). Later in the paragraph it becomes clear that Sayre has reversed the identities of Rogers/Richards and Harris himself.

9. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

10. Concerning Stowell's conversion and his brief visit to Ohio, see introduction to VI.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843; and IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, n. 24.

Smith might have thought, when he asserted that he never was in Bainbridge, that South Bainbridge was a different town. But Squire [Zechariah] Tarbell[11] lived in Bainbridge & so did Reed & Esqu. Chamberlin[12] before whom he was tried when Reed defended him.

I [here?] with send you an extract from the printed his=tory which I have alluded to above. It may not be intire=ly correct. I took part of it from what some body else had written. Jos[eph] S[mith]. was probably in this region of coun=try longer than <I> supposed when I wrote the history. I am sure it was in <April> 1829[13] when I saw <&> had the conversation with Richards, & I always supposed that it was before that he was arrested & driven out of town. But perhaps it was af=ter he wrote the bible or a part of it. Reed was not very reliable. His date may be wrong—I think it was.[14]

Yours &c. [s] Wm S. Sayre [p. 4]

[*The following note is written at the top of page 1*]
I do not know any thing about Rigdon, but I think ~~if~~ Smith was married ~~by him it~~ & was living with his wife when Richards gave me that account of his writing the Morman Bible in the Spring of 1829. W. S. S.

I am not certain the man's name was Richards but I think so. It was the man who assisted him to means to print his bible. There might have been others. He believed in Smith.

[*The following appears on a separate sheet*]

"Jo. Smith the author of the Morman bible & the founder of the polygimous sect by that name, appeared in the South=ern part of this town in what is now known as Afton, in 1828 or 1829 & attended school for a while. He soon pretended to be a fortune teller & capable of looking into futurity. This was done by placing a stone in his hat & then looking into it drawn over his face so as to exclude the light. In this way he pretended also to discover hidden treasures of gold in the earth, & many even so credulous & deluded as to dig for gold in locating [locations] indicated by him. He pretended also to cast out devils, heal the sick, walk on the wa=ter, &c. but these false pretensions & deceptions was soon exposed & he was prosecuted as an imposter & taken before Joseph P. Chamberlin Esq. a justice of the peace,

---

11. See I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 39.

12. On Joseph Chamberlin, see introduction to IV.F.4, JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JUL 1830.

13. Probably late March 1829 (see note 7 above).

14. The trial occurred on 1 July 1830 (see IV.F.4, JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JUL 1830).

when he was defended by two old pettyfoggers com=monly called Elder Reed & general Davidson, pritty well known in those days. Jo. was allowed to escape punishment by leaving the town. His ~~his~~ subsequent career in Ohio & Illinois is matter of history[."][15]

[*The following paragraph is written sideways on the same page*]

It may be that the statement that he pretended to tell fortunes, cast out devils, heal the sick, walk on the water &c. is not correct. I took that from an other writer I do not vouch for it.[16]

15. Most of Sayre's account is taken from VI.E.4, HAMILTON CHILD ACCOUNT, 1869.

16. See VI.E.4, HAMILTON CHILD ACCOUNT, 1869.

5.
GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JULY 1880

[Frederick G. Mather], "The Early Mormons. Joe Smith Operates at Susquehanna," *Binghamton Republican,* 29 July 1880.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The *Binghamton Republican* article is unattributed, but Frederick G. Mather's authorship is indicated by a shorter version in *Lippincott's Magazine* in August 1880 (see IV.D.6, FREDERICK G. MATHER INTERVIEWS WITH RESIDENTS OF BROOME AND CHENANGO COUNTIES [NY], JUL 1880).[1] Mather's information comes mainly from George Collington of Colesville, with additional details provided by Smith Baker, also of Colesville, Harriet Marsh of Harpersville, and Rebecca Nurse of South Bainbridge.

George Collington (ca. 1812-?) was born in Essex County, Vermont, and came to Colesville at an early age. He claimed to have seen Joseph Smith, Jr., Joseph Knight, Sr., and others dig for salt on land that he would later own. He related the folk tale about Joseph Smith attempting to walk on water. The details of his death are unknown, but he was still living on his farm in Colesville in 1885 (H. P. Smith 1885, 563; U.S. Census, Colesville, Broome County, New York, 1850:166).

Smith Baker (1796-1897), son of Joshua and Abigail Baker, was born in Hunter, Greene County, New York. He married Christina Shiffer (died 1852) in 1819, and they had seven children. An item in the *Broome County Courier* for 27 September 1832 states that in the fall of 1831, Baker abandoned his wife and children in Colesville and eloped with the wife of Israel A. Smith, taking with him a considerable amount of the latter's property; Israel Smith was later found to have died under suspicious circumstances (p. 3). Baker evidently returned to his family soon after this event and Smith Baker, Jr., was born on 6 March 1832. Baker Sr. lived at Center Village where he

1. On Frederick G. Mather (1844-1925), see introduction to III.J.13, ORLANDO SAUNDERS, WILLIAM VAN CAMP, AND JOHN H. GILBERT INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

worked his farm until his death. In 1880 he told about Joseph Smith and Josiah Stowell digging for silver near Bettsburgh, about Sidney Rigdon preaching in Joseph Knight's barn, and about having been one of the teamsters who helped the Colesville Mormons move from the area in 1831 ("Four Generations of the Smith Baker Descendants, Assembled by Arthur H. Brown," 1 July 1931, copy at Broome County Historical Society, Binghamton, New York; U.S. Census, Colesville, Broome County, New York, 1850:163).

Harriet (Johnson) Marsh (ca. 1795-?) was probably a resident of Harpersville, Broome County, New York, at the time the Mormons passed her home on their way to Ohio in the spring of 1831. She was living in Guilford, Chenango County, New York, at the taking of the 1860 census (1860:343), but she evidently moved to Harpersville by 1880 when she was interviewed by Mather. She claimed to have seen Joseph Smith with his head bandaged soon after he got possession of the plates. She also told Mather of hearing folkloric accounts of Smith's failure to restore life to a dead man in Greene, his attempt to walk on water, and how he cast a devil out of one of the Knights.

Rebecca Nurse (ca. 1805-?) lived near Nineveh, Broome County, New York, at the time the Colesville Branch was formed. She told Mather about Joseph Smith's cursing Nineveh and later withdrawing the curse. Rebecca and her husband Jared (age sixty-eight) are listed in the 1860 census of Afton, New York (1860:389). At the time of her interview with Mather, she lived at Binghamton, Broome County, New York.

Mather's *Republican* article is introduced as follows:

> Recently a reporter of the REPUBLICAN visited Susquehanna and other towns on the Susquehanna river for the purpose of authenticating rumors of Mormon history, and interviewed several of the oldest inhabitants. It was a very pleasant work, as they were mostly intelligent and time-wise. The July sun was scalding hot, which suggested that it might have been hot in Joe Smith's days, and turned the prophet's fertile mind to thoughts of "a land that is hotter than this." ...

...[2] The clap-trap of Smith and [Martin] Harris[3] failed to make any

---

2. The opening portion of Mather's article deals with Joseph Smith's activities in the Harmony, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, area (see V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880).

3. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection."

favorable impression at Susquehanna, in Smith's own neighborhood, proving again that "a prophet is not without honor, save in his own land." The scene of his ministry was changed to Harpersville [Broome County, New York], where one of Mrs. [Emma] Smith's sisters, Mrs. [Elizabeth Hale] Wasson,[4] resided, and to Nineveh and Afton. Harpersville is about twenty miles above Susquehanna; Nineveh [Broome County] is about two miles further up the river, and Afton [formerly South Bainbridge] is about three miles above Nineveh, and lies just in the edge of Chenango county. When the country was new, and traversed by narrow and muddy roads through the dense forests, people who lived twenty miles apart seldom met, and when Smith went up to Harpersville to operate he had left his country, substantially, and sent to a distant one.

Brother-in-law Benjamin Wasson,[5] of Harpersville, was a cabinet-maker, and made a box in which to carry the golden bible after it was deemed to be unsafe in the pillow-case.[6] Neither Mr. Wasson nor his wife inclined toward Mormonism, but one of their sons joined the Mormons and became a Mormon preacher.[7]

In the days of Joe Smith's early operations people were often found who were actuated by a desire to become suddenly rich. He operated largely upon their cupidity. There are no such people now, consequently adventurers who hold out promises of sudden great wealth never deceive anybody, not even by mining and stock operations, patent wagon-tongue lifters and the like. But Joe Smith was able, by the using of his "peek-stone" to gather around him a band at Harpersville. He procured the following of Joseph Knight,[8] who possessed a small farm, a grist mill, and a carding mill, situated upon a small stream from Perch Pond to the Susquehanna river, directly across the river from the present village of Harpersville. Having enlisted Knight's pocket-book the Latter Day Saint had something to operate with.

---

4. On Elizabeth Hale Wasson (1800-74), sister of Emma Hale Smith, see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, n. 190.

5. Benjamin Wasson (?-1851), husband of Elizabeth (Hale) Wasson (see M. A. Anderson 1929, 305; *Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County,* 1892, 57-60).

6. This information originated from Harriet Marsh (see end of Mather's account) and cannot be substantiated.

7. Lorenzo Wasson (ca. 1818-57) was born in Amboy, Lee County, Illinois. He was baptized in March 1842 (Jessee 1984, 691; J. Smith 1948, 4:557).

8. On Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772-1847), see introduction to IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847.

Knight's two sons, William[9] and Newell,[10] also joined the fortunes of the "peek-stone" man. William Hale, uncle of the "Electa Cyria," or Daughter of God, as Joe's wife was called, joined the band.[11] Among the other converts here—about sixty finally emigrated from the neighborhood—were William Stringham and wife,[12] men named Blowers[13] and Culver[14] and Josiah Stowell.[15] Stowell was a man of some means when he became a Mormon.

This point on the river is north of the Apalachin mountains, and widens from a narrow cut to a broad and open plane, now divided into as fine and productive farms as the sun shines upon. The place was originally settled by emigrants from Vermont, who were known as "Vermont sufferers." The appellation did not attach to them because they suffered privations on the Susquehanna, but because they had settled on a strip of land off Washington county, on grants from New York State, when the land was subsequently proved to belong to Vermont. As a compensation for this loss they were given homes at Nineveh. The antecedents of these settlers is mentioned here because it is a notic[e]able fact that Vermonters of the poorer class were peculiarly susceptible to the influence of bugaboo religions.

---

9. Rather, Nahum Knight (1796-?) (See IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846, n. 3).

10. On Newel Knight (1800-47), see introduction to IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846.

11. William Hale's relationship to Isaac Hale is uncertain. According to Joseph and Hiel Lewis, cousins of Emma Smith, William was "a distant relative" (see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879). On William's involvement with Josiah Stowell's treasure-seeking adventure, see V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825. William was also acquainted with Joseph Knight, who sold land to him on 7 October 1825 (Deeds, Liber 8, 332, Broome County Clerk's Office, Binghamton, New York). William Hale, in his forties, is listed in the 1830 census of Colesville, Broome County, New York (1830:55).

12. On William (1788-1865) and Esther Stringham (1798-1831), who were baptized by Oliver Cowdery at Colesville on 28 June 1830, see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 43, nn. 135, 136.

13. Perhaps Isaac Blowers or S. D. Blowers, both listed in the 1830 census of Smithville, Chenango County, New York (1830:104). There are no Blowers listed for Broome County.

14. On Aaron (ca. 1766-1831) and Esther Culver (1766-1836), baptized by Oliver Cowdery on 28 June 1830 at Colesville, see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 43, nn. 138, 139.

15. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

The "peek-stone" discovered a salt spring[16] in a marsh on the plane opposite Center Village, and brawny hands and sinewey arms were found to take up shovels and picks and dig for it. This portion of the plane was then owned by Bostwick Badger.[17] It is now owned by George Collington, one of the very substantial farmers of Broome county.[18] Mr. Collington was then a lad about sixteen years old, and one evening about twilight he discovered Joe Smith, the elder and the younger Knights, Stringham and Culver and Blowers dodging through the woods with digging implements on their shoulders. He followed them, keeping under cover of the brush until they stopped and held a council. They decided to commence digging the next day. Young Collington saw that Mr. Badger had felled an oak tree near the place a few days before, and had drawn out the timber. He went and got Mr. Badger's permission to cut the top for wood, and the next day, soon after the Prophet and followers began to dig, Collington's ax began in the tree top. In a few moments the lad walked out and inquired what they were doing. They were cross to him, and told him he had better be off about his business. As Mr. Collington now expresses it, he was "a pretty spry boy, and did not care much for the Mormon scowls and scolds." He published them about the neighborhood, and every day the salt diggings had unwelcome visitors. They dug the hole down about thirty-five feet. It was necessary to pump out water by hand to keep the mine from flooding, and operations were very laborious. Frederick Davenport[19] furnished young Collington with half a bushel of salt, which was deposited in the hole one night. There was sufficient water at the bottom to dissolve the salt, and in the morning the Mormons discovered a briny flavor. As many bottles as they could muster were filled with the water and exhibited about the neighborhood. This was the first success of the famous "peek-stone." But the salt well speculation came to grief one night by caving in and burying the picks, crowbars, shovels, etc., which were never

16. According to Josiah Stowell and Jonathan Thompson, Joseph Smith occasionally used his stone to locate salt deposits in the South Bainbridge area (see IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826).

17. Bostwick Badger, in his forties, is listed in the 1830 census of Colesville (1830:54). A number of legal transactions connect Joseph Knight and Badger (see Robert Harpur, Journal, 22 November 1814, Broome County Historical Society, Binghamton, New York; Grantee Records, 30 January 1811, in Liber 3, 36; and 20 May 1815, in Liber 5, 29-30, Broome County Clerk's Office, Binghamton, New York).

18. Probably Colesville Lot 58 on the east side of the river.

19. Frederick Davenport, in his twenties, is listed in the 1830 census of Colesville, Broome County, New York (1830:55).

taken out. Since Mr. Collington has owned the farm some of his own and his neighbors' cattle were drowned in it, and to avoid further losses of the kind he filled the hole to nearly a level with the surrounding plane.

The "peek-stone" discovered an extensive and rich silver mine on the farm of Abraham Cornell, at Bettsburgh, nearly opposite Nineveh,[20] and a hole was dug there to the depth of over thirty feet, but no silver was found except what was contributed by Josiah Stowell to provide for the expenses of the diggers. Mr. Stowell is represented as being not a very bright man, but he had saved considerable money for those times, and Joe Smith managed to get and spend about the whole of it. Searches were made in other places about the neighborhood for treasure. It is not necessary to state with what success.

But now we come to a stage in these early reminiscences of Mormonism when Joe Smith was more successful. Already it has been noticed that he was successful in getting the wife the Lord sent him to find, and the golden bible, which was a sort of sequel to the marriage. These he got at Susquehanna and Palmyra, the only two neighborhoods where he had operated extensively before he squatted at Harpersville. At Harpersville he made his first successful efforts to found a church.[21] A large barn, 30 by 40 feet—which was standing until very recently—on Joseph Knight's farm, was the first Mormon tabernacle. Joe Smith tried to preach there, but is described as not a very great success at preaching.[22] But Sidney Rigdon was sent for, and did better.[23] The excitement ran high; there was a semblance of persecution on the part of the Gentiles, principally among the lads and young men, and converts came in until a church was formed which must have been a great deal more numerous than any other church in that neighborhood. A dam was constructed in

---

20. The information about this dig came from Smith Baker (see end of Mather's article). This operation was evidently conducted on South Bainbridge Lot 62, which is also described in IV.E.4, HAMILTON CHILD ACCOUNT, 1869; and IV.D.13, HARVEY BAKER REMINISCENCE, 1900.

21. Following the baptisms of most of the Knight and Peck families on 28 June 1830, a branch of the church was established at Colesville.

22. Dean C. Jessee describes Joseph Smith's limited capacity as a public speaker (Jessee 1991).

23. The information about Sidney Rigdon was provided by Smith Baker (see end of Mather's article). Shortly after Rigdon's arrival in Fayette, New York, about 7 December 1830, Smith and Rigdon visited Colesville and preached (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 81-87; IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847; IV.D.7, EMILY [COLBURN] AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 37-38). On Sidney Rigdon (1793-1876), see introduction to I.A.13, SIDNEY RIGDON ACCOUNT, CIRCA 1836.

the stream upon which Knight's mills were situated, and in this the Mormon converts were baptized by immersion. The young Gentiles often tore the dam away, but the faithful rebuilt it as often as they needed it for baptismal purposes.[24]

The numerical size and character of the new church was such that other people were exceedingly glad when they shook the dust of Harpersville from their feet and emigrated westward. The train as they departed consisted of eleven passenger wagons, and three baggage wagons. There were sixty passengers.[25] Some of them were led by a desire for travel and adventure—polygamy had not yet been introduced into the church—but others were so much in earnest that they pooled their property, what there was of it, and determined to follow their Prophet at least to the end of his earthly kingdom. Possibly some believed in his heavenly kingdom. His followers were people who would embrace any creed which had for its object the tearing down of other creeds. They were about such people as the communists, and the rank and file of spiritualists of to-day. They were of the class described by Dr. Holmes,[26] "Whose hair's in the mortar of every new zion," but who are ready to believe anything but the Bible.

There are several stories told in the neighborhoods of Susquehanna and Harpersville about miracles performed by Joe Smith. Joe was in the habit of drinking liquor too freely for the founder of a religion, and perhaps he often mistook a hilarious condition for a very spiritual condition, and undertook to perform on a grand scale very much as other drunken men do without realizing the magnitude of his task and his own utter inability to perform it. He got pretty drunk at one time while out with a party who fished the river with a drag net. The catch was very good, but unlike the fishermen of Galilee the men were able to pull in all the fish. ...[27]

At Nineveh the Prophet announced that on a certain evening, at twi-

---

24. The information about the destruction of the dam and Mormon baptisms on Knight's property originated with Smith Baker (see end of Mather's article). For a description of the destruction of the dam and subsequent baptisms, see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 42-43; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 55. C. B. Doolittle remembered "seeing some of them [Mormons] baptized at the fordway near the present residence of George Collington, Esq., about one mile below Center Village" (*Windsor Standard,* 14 August 1880).

25. On this exodus, see Porter 1971, 296-311; Porter and Shipps 1981.

26. Perhaps Abiel Holmes (1763-1837), clergyman and author of the 1798 *Life of Ezra Stiles* (*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* 1891-1980, 7:148).

27. For Mather's material dealing with events in the Harmony, Pennsylvania, area, see V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE,

light, he would walk upon the water.[28] The place where he was to walk was watched by the Gentiles, and one of the followers was seen to come there and construct a bridge just under the water. When the bridge builder left, congratulating himself that he had done a good job for his Prophet, the boys—it is the boys always who do such things—slyly removed a portion of the planks. At twilight that evening the Prophet came out to walk upon the water, and before starting he exhorted his followers to have faith, as faith on their part was absolutely indispensable to enable him to perform a miracle. For a few steps he had a sort of "go as you please;" then he didn't go as he pleased, but plunged down and had to swim as he pleased for shore. "Woe unto you of little faith!" was his salutation to his followers as he reached *terra firma*; "your faith would not hold me up!"

He was sent for to come to Harpersville, and bring to life an old Mormon convert named John Morse, who died.[29] He had professed to be able to raise the dead, and his followers wanted an exhibition of his skill in that direction. But when he saw how old the man was he argued that it would be a pity to bring him to life and cause him to suffer death again in a short time, for old age had already rendered him helpless. He was happy in heaven, and it would

---

ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

28. Mather's account comes from George Collington and Harriet Marsh. Collington said he was not present, and Marsh said she only heard about the event (see end of Mather's article). Hamilton Child may have been the first to publish Smith's attempt to walk on water (IV.E.4, HAMILTON CHILD ACCOUNT, 1869). However, the oral tradition dates to an early period since Mormon apostle John Taylor mentioned hearing that Smith "tried to deceive people by walking on planks laid under the water" (Young et al. 1853-86, 5:239). H. P. Smith, who names Collington as his source, explained the planks differently: "A dock of plank was laid out into the water from which he [Smith] was to start" (IV.E.7, HENRY P. SMITH ACCOUNT, 1885). Harvey Baker repeated the story in 1900 (IV.D.13, HARVEY BAKER REMINISCENCE, 1900), to which Larry C. Porter and Jan Shipps commented: "[Baker] includes an apocryphal account of attempts Joseph Smith made to walk on water which is remarkably similar to a story sometimes told about Jemima Wilkinson, the Universal Friend" (Porter and Shipps 1981, 204; for Jemima Wilkinson's attempt to walk on water, see Wisbey 1964, 175). It was also claimed that Smith attempted to walk on water in Ohio (see *Naked Truths About Mormonism,* April 1884, 4; see also *Deseret News,* 17 January 1883).

29. A John Morse, in his twenties, possibly son of the John Morse here, is listed in the 1830 census of Vestal, Broome County, New York (1830:74). The account comes from Smith Baker (see end of Mather's article). On Mormon claims to raise the dead generally, see Prince 1995,19, 150-51, 179.

be cruel to bring him back to struggle with rheumatism and poverty in this world. The argument prevailed and the old man was not prayed back to life with Mormon prayers.

The Prophet found it necessary, however, to pray for the return to life of a deceased shoemaker at Greene.[30] The shoemaker had joined the new church, and was expected to put all his property, consisting of a few hundred dollars, into the Joe Smith treasury, and prepare for the exodus toward the western Zion. The widow would not turn over the property until prayers had been offered for the return of her husband. If the shoemaker was in heaven he preferred staying there to being brought back by Joe Smith. His executors afterwards sought to recover the shoemaker's property, and Judge Thomas A. Johnson,[31] afterwards of Corning, but then a law student in Greene, was sent to Harpersville to get possession of it.

The saints were encamped in Knight's barn, and threatened to shoot Mr. Johnson. By the advice of friends he compromised after they surrendered a valuable horse, prized in those cheap times at $200.

Perhaps the most remarkable miracle ever performed by Joe Smith, and which proved beyond a doubt that he was all he professed to be, was casting the devil out of the elder Knight.[32] Knight solemnly declared that the devil was cast out of him in the form of a black cat, and when he was cast out he ran into a brush heap. It is not recorded that he ever returned to Knight, and entered his former habitation, but those who knew Knight are of the opinion that the premises were not a great while without a tenant like the one who had vacated.

The Mormon exodus from Harpersville was by way of the old State road north of Binghamton to Ithaca, and from there they journeyed toward Palmyra by water on Cayuga lake.[33]

---

30. The account originates with Harriet Marsh (see end of Mather's article).

31. Thomas A. Johnson (?-1872) came to South Bainbridge from Colesville about 1830, then to Greene where he studied law two years, then to Corning in Steuben County where he was elected a Supreme Court justice for the seventh district in 1847, a position he held until 1865 (J. H. Smith 1880, 201, 208).

32. Mather obtained his information from Harriet Marsh (see end of Mather's article). It was not Joseph Knight, but his son Newel, from whom Smith cast out the devil, an event which occurred in late April 1830 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 39-41; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 49-50). While it is not impossible for Smith to have performed two exorcisms, the fact that Marsh stands alone in naming Joseph Knight tends to discredit this detail.

33. This information came from Harriet Marsh (see end of Mather's article).

THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

The strictly narrative portion of the foregoing account of early Mormonism, as has been stated, was gathered from very creditable eye witnesses, who are now among the aged, and honored, and trusted of their townships. They were among the youth at the time of Joe Smith's earlier adventures and personally pried into every undertaking and watched every movement. ...[34]

GEORGE COLLINGTON, ESQ., gave a pretty full account of the Mormon transactions about Harpersville. He told the story of the salt well; and of the first Mormon meetings in Knight's barn; of the baptismal ponds, etc. Mr. Collington was very careful not to appear to know overmuch about the Mormons, and said he was not present when Joe Smith tried to walk upon the water. But others accuse Mr. Collington of taking up the Prophet's bridge and letting him souse into the river, and of playing various other tricks with him. If this accusation is correct, young Collington's absence from the water-walking scene is easily explained. He could see just as well a little further off when the Mormons' dander was certain to come up.

SMITH BAKER, about eighty years old (Mr. Baker died since the interview),[35] and the owner of a handsome property on the plains, had a rich font of early Mormon incidents. He was one of the teamsters who assisted the Mormon exodus from Harpersville. He imparted the information about the shaft sunk at Bettsburgh, opposite Nineveh, for silver, at the expense of Josiah Stowell. He heard Sidney Rigdon preach, and said he was a decent speaker as preachers averaged in those days. He related incidents of Mormon baptisms in the stream from the Perch Pond, and how the boys tore out the dam until the Mormons found it necessary to rebuild it in the night and watch it every time they had a baptismal rite to perform. According to Mr. Baker, Josiah Stowell once sent the Prophet to mill and he lost a bag of wheat through a hole in the wagon box. Col. Stow,[36] a prominent settler, saw it fall and picked it up and carried it to his house. The Prophet resorted to his "peep-stone" and saw a man come out of the woods, seize the bag and make off with it. The robbery was noised about thoroughly for several days, when

---

34. For information obtained from Harmony, Pennsylvania, area residents, see V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

35. Mather may have been mistaken about Baker's death since a history of the Baker family dates his death to 17 October 1897 ("Four Generations of the Smith Baker Descendants, Assembled by Arthur H. Brown," 1 July 1931, copy at Broome County Historical Society, Binghamton, New York).

36. This person remains unidentified.

Col. Stow confessed the part he had [played?] and surrendered the wheat to the great confusion of Stowell and Smith.[37] Mr. Baker was authority for saying that Joe Smith was sent to pray John Morse back to life, but discouraged the scheme on the ground that the deceased was an old man and had better remain dead. Mr. Baker said that the widow of Benjamin Peck, of Afton, who took her two children and went off with the Mormons, placing in the hands of Joe Smith considerable money, repented in great agony of mind while on the road to Ithaca, but the Mormons would not restore her property, and she was forced to remain with them.[38]

MRS. HARRIET MARSH, an estimable lady of Harpersville, now about eighty years of age, and wonderfully well preserved in bodily and mental vigor, remembers much of Joe Smith's career, though she only saw him once. She was traveling with her husband toward Susquehanna, and stopped at Waller's tavern where the Prophet and "Electa Cyria" were stopping for a meal. Joe had his head wound in thick bandages, and Mrs. Marsh was told by landlord Waller[39] the story of the Prophet's great fight with the devil. This was about two weeks after Smith returned from Palmyra with the golden plates,[40] and he was then on his way to brother-in-law Wasson's to get a box made for it. She thought the "Electa Cyria" below the ordinary grade of intellect for women. Mrs. Marsh told the story of the shoemaker at Greene, whom the Prophet failed to bring to life. Judge Johnson, who recovered the horse for the shoemaker's executors, was Mrs. Marsh's brother. The Mormon exodus went past her house. She saw Josiah Stowell and his daughter after they returned from the Mormons, and thinks that Mrs. Stowell, who died while West, was poisoned.[41] Mrs. Marsh remembers the attempt of Joe Smith to walk on water. She also remembers that the Knights, while working for her husband in haying, said that Joe Smith could perform miracles, and Joseph, the elder of the Knights, said that Joe Smith had cast the devil out of

---

37. The story was not included in the body of Mather's article.

38. This story was not included in the body of Mather's account. Phebe (Crosby) Peck, a widow with four children, is mentioned in Ira J. Willes's listing of church members who migrated to Ohio from Colesville (Porter 1971, 299). Benjamin Peck died at age forty-one on 30 April 1829 (J. H. Smith 1880, 141).

39. Perhaps Nathan Waller, listed in the 1820 census of Windsor, Broome County (1820:19).

40. Marsh is unique in claiming that Smith received a head injury when getting the plates. Lucy Smith and others reported that he injured his thumb but mentioned nothing about a head injury. Moreover, Smith said he arrived at Harmony in December 1827, months after he obtained the plates.

41. Other sources mention that Stowell went west with the Mormons and

him; that he was in the shape and style of a black cat, and ran into a brush heap.

MRS. REBECCA NURSE, an elderly lady now residing in Binghamton, lived near Nineveh at the time of the Mormon doings there, and remembers that the Prophet set a day to sink Nineveh after the manner of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. But after a great deal of coaxing he was persuaded to withdraw his curse, or at least to postpone it, otherwise the Albany and Susquehanna railroad would now have to ferry across a Dead Sea. ...

---

returned (see IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 2; V.D.14, SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY AFFIDAVIT, 27 MAR 1903; Porter 1971, 208). However, the claim that Stowell's wife was poisoned is unique. According to a Stowell family history, Miriam (Bridgeman) Stowell died in Smithboro, New York, on 23 September 1833 at age sixty (Stowell 1922, 229-30).

6.
FREDERICK G. MATHER INTERVIEWS WITH RESIDENTS OF BROOME AND CHENANGO COUNTIES (NY), JULY 1880

Frederick G. Mather, "The Early Days of Mormonism," *Lippincott's Magazine* (Philadelphia) 26 (August 1880): 202-204, 211.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Frederick G. Mather[1] here summarizes his July 1880 interviews with George Collington, Smith Baker, Harriet Marsh, and Rebecca Nurse. For Mather's more detailed account and fuller documentation, including biographical information about his informants, see IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

...[2] The scene of the Mormon endeavors was suddenly moved along the beautiful valley of the Susquehanna to a point north of the Appalachin Mountains and just within the borders of New York. In the locality of Harpersville and Nineveh a broad plain had been settled by a colony of emigrants called "the Vermont Sufferers," from their having formerly occupied land which was claimed by both Massachusetts and New York. Three miles above Nineveh lies Afton [formerly South Bainbridge], just on the edge of Chenango county, and a short distance above are Sidney, in Delaware county, and Otego, in Otsego county. Smith and his followers operated with the peek-stone in this part of the valley, where he was a comparative stranger. George Collington, one of the most substantial farmers in Broome county,

---

1. On Frederick G. Mather (1844-1925), see introduction to III.J.13, ORLANDO SAUNDERS, WILLIAM VAN CAMP, AND JOHN H. GILBERT INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

2. The preceding material dealing with events in western New York and Pennsylvania can be found in III.J.13, ORLANDO SAUNDERS, WILLIAM VAN CAMP, AND JOHN H. GILBERT INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880; and V.C.6, FREDERICK G. MATHER INTERVIEWS WITH SUSQUEHANNA COUNTY (PA) RESIDENTS, JUL 1880.

was then a lad of sixteen. One evening, at twilight, he discovered Smith, Joseph Knight, William Hale (uncle of Smith's wife) and two men named [Aaron] Culver and Blowers in the act of dodging through the woods with shovels and picks upon their shoulders, their object being to discover a salt-spring by the agency of the peek-stone. He followed them, under cover of the brush, to a point where they [p. 202] stopped for consultation and finally decided to dig the next day. Noticing that Bostwick Badger, who then owned the farm now occupied by Collington, had felled an oak near the place, and that he had drawn out the timber, Collington obtained permission to cut the top for wood. Collington's axe and the prophet's diggers began operations about the same time on the following morning. Out from the treetop came Collington and asked what they were doing. They told him to mind his business, which he did by thoroughly publishing them about the neighborhood—a proceeding that brought them a number of unwelcome visitors in the place of one. Frederick Davenport furnished young Collington with a half bushel of salt to be deposited in the hole at night. By morning the water had dissolved the salt and retained its briny flavor. Bottles were filled for exhibition, and the stock of the converts in the peek-stone ran high until the trick was discovered. It was claimed that the peek-stone also pointed out an extensive silver-mine on the farm of Abram Cornell at Bettsburg, nearly opposite Nineveh. No silver was found except that furnished by Josiah Stowell, a not over-bright man whose little all went into the pocket of Smith.

However much he might fail in discovering material treasures, Smith's hold upon the religious infatuation of his followers grew more and more strong. John Morse, an aged convert to Mormonism, had recently died, and Smith was sent for to restore him to life. After looking at him Smith declined, because it would be a pity to have him suffer rheumatism and die again so soon! This was something like Brigham Young's refusal to restore a lost leg to one of his Mormons, on the ground that if he did it the man would be obliged to walk on three legs all through eternity!

Mrs. [Harriet] Marsh says that Joseph Knight and his sons were on one occasion in her husband's hay-field, and boldly declared that Smith could perform miracles. On being challenged for an example, Joseph Knight said, "The prophet cast the Devil out of me. He looked like a black cat; and he ran into a pile of brush." The prophet prayed for a deceased shoemaker in Greene, Chenango county. This man had joined their Church, and the Mormons needed his property to help them in leaving the country. The widow refused to sign the property over until the prayers had been offered for the return of her husband. The prayers having availed nothing, the executor sought to recover the property. Thomas A. Johnson, then a law-student

and a brother of Mrs. Marsh, was sent to Harpersville to get possession. Smith's followers were encamped in the barn of Joseph Knight, and they threatened to shoot. By the advice of friends Johnson compromised the matter by taking a valuable horse.

All accounts agree that Smith drank freely, both in the Susquehanna and in the Harpersville neighborhoods. ...[3] A number of witnesses in the vicinity of Nineveh remember that the prophet set a day for that village to sink, but that he afterward repented and withdrew his curse. He did, however, announce that on a certain evening, about twilight, he would walk on the water. The place of his selection was watched by Gentile boys until one of Smith's followers was seen to construct a bridge of planks just under the surface. Watching their opportunity, the boys removed the outer planks. Before the prophet made the attempt to walk he exhorted his followers to have strong faith. When his bridge suddenly gave way he swam ashore and said, "Woe unto you of little faith! Your faith would not hold me up."

There were other boys in the neighborhood who thought it rare sport to annoy the Mormons. The same Joseph Knight who has already figured in this narrative owned a small farm on which he had built a combined grist- and carding-mill. The power was obtained by means of a small stream, the outlet of Perch Pond to the Susquehanna River, [p. 203] opposite Harpersville. This stream was damned, so that the Mormon converts might be baptized by immersion. The day for the ceremony was fixed, but the boys so persistently destroyed the dam that the Mormons did not attempt to re-build it till the night before, and then they were obliged to stand guard until the hour for the baptism had arrived. Knight's barn was a rude structure of about forty by thirty feet, but it served the purpose of a tabernacle in the wilderness for a number of months. The prophet himself was not a very successful preacher, but the versatile Sidney Rigdon more than made up for his defects. Smith Baker gives Rigdon the credit of being "a decent speaker, as preachers averaged in those days."

A semblance of persecution having strengthened the Church, the Gentile inhabitants of the Susquehanna Valley were glad when a "revelation" caused the sixty Mormons to pack their traps and move westward. Some of the followers were moved by a spirit of adventure, while others placed their property in the common lot and determined to accompany the prophet to his earthly as well as to his heavenly kingdom. Smith Baker was one of the

---

3. For Mather's account of events in Harmony, Pennsylvania, see V.C.6, FREDERICK G. MATHER INTERVIEWS WITH SUSQUEHANNA COUNTY (PA) RESIDENTS, JUL 1880.

teamsters, and reports that the train consisted of three baggage- and eleven passenger-wagons. The exodus was along the old State road, north of Binghamton, to Ithaca, and thence, across Cayuga Lake, to Palmyra. ... [p. 204] ...[4]

FREDERIC G. MATHER. [p. 211]

4. For Mather's account of events in the Palmyra/Manchester, New York, area, see III.J.13, ORLANDO SAUNDERS, WILLIAM VAN CAMP, AND JOHN H. GILBERT INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880. Material dealing with Mormonism in Ohio and other unrelated matters have been deleted.

7.
EMILY (COLBURN) AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882

Emily M. Austin, *Mormonism; or, Life among the Mormons* (Madison, Wisconsin: M. J. Cantwell, 1882), 30-52, 56-58.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Emily Colburn (Coburn) (1813-?), daughter of Amasa and Experience Colburn and younger sister of Sally Colburn Knight (wife of Newel Knight), was probably born in Pennsylvania. Subsequently, her family located in Guilford, Chenango County, New York. She joined the Mormons in the fall of 1830 after the Reverend John Sherer and some family members tried to prevent her. She moved to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831, then to Missouri where she married Clark Slade in 1833. When the Mormons were driven from Missouri, she moved to Pittsfield, Pike County, Illinois, where her husband died. She then moved to Nauvoo, where she became disillusioned and left the church. She moved to northern Ohio and lived there until at least 1852. Occasionally she visited Nauvoo, where she remarried. Later she lived in Wisconsin and Iowa. The details of her death are presently unknown (Jessee 1989, 480; Porter 1971, 214-16). Regarding her autobiography, Larry C. Porter has said: "Despite a number of inaccuracies, she gives the reader some valuable historical insights which are not found elsewhere" (Porter 1971, 216).[1]

... Two years had elapsed[2]; at this time my sister [Sally Knight][3] had married [on 7 June 1825] and lived in the town of Colesville, Broom[e] county, New York. Her husband's name was Newel Knight.[4] He was a

---

1. Chapter headings (VIII-XI, XIII) are not included in the following reproduction of her autobiography.

2. About 1828, she left her father's residence in Guilford, Chenango County, New York, to live with her brother Esick Lyon Colburn in Sanford, Broome County, to learn the millinery trade.

3. On Sarah ("Sally") Colburn Knight (1804-34), who married Newel Knight on 7 June 1825, see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 164.

4. On Newel Knight (1800-47), see introduction to IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846.

staunch Universalist, and his father, Joseph Knight,[5] was also of the same belief. Sister Sarah was of the Presbyterian faith.[6] However, I never knew of any argument between them concerning their religious views. I was now just entering my third year at my brother's, and a revival of religion commenced in the Presbyterian church,[7] and many were exhibiting a great interest in forming a new and more useful life; and I found myself one of that happy number.

During this revival, many were brought to see that the blood of Christ was sufficient to cleanse them from all sin; and I felt an assurance that I was also adopted into the family of God, through his blood. I was now, as I considered—and in fact it was my most earnest wish—to lay aside selfish longings, and look a little to the comfort and good of others. It is [p. 30] true I now had, at an early age, learned a trade; and choosing not to eat the bread of idleness, and furthermore to let independence be my aim, and ever look upon avarice as my worst foe, I felt determined to start out in the right path in pursuing the journey of life. To emulate the example of the good Samaritan effectually, one must be in possession of an independence.

My brother Esick Lyon [Colburn][8] lived in Pennsylvania, in the town of Sanford, Crawford county.[9] I still remained with them, only making occasional visits at my fathers,[10] in Guilford, and at Colesville; and it was optional with me where to commence when I should arrive at an age sufficient to do business for myself.

Six months had elapsed, and we hear[d] a rumor going around that Joe Smith, of whom we had often heard as a fortune teller, was at this time in

---

5. On Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772-1847), see introduction to IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847.

6. Newel Knight reported that Sally "had long held an honorable position in the choir of one of the most respectable churches in the vicinity" (IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 37; see also Walters 1984, 23, 30 n. 6).

7. The occasion of the revival was likely the arrival of the Reverend John Sherer in February 1830. The Presbyterian church in Sanford had been organized during the winter of 1829-30, and Sherer was commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society to serve the Colesville and Sanford churches (Walters 1984, 24).

8. Esick Colburn, in his twenties, is listed in the 1830 census of Sanford, Broome County, New York (1830:63).

9. Sanford is in Broome County.

10. Amasa Colburn, in his fifties, is listed in the 1830 census of Guilford, Chenango County, New York (1830:193).

Colesville,[11] preaching a very strange doctrine, and that our sister [Sally Knight] and her husband [Newel Knight] were attentive listeners to his fanaticism. This rumor [p. 31] staggered our wits to comprehend. The story was repeated in our ears almost daily. We knew this same Joe Smith had often been in Colesville, to visit his Universalist friends or brethren.[12] I had seen him two or three times, while visiting at my sisters, but did not think it worth my while to take any notice of him. I never spoke to him, for he was a total stranger to me. However, I thought him odd looking and queer. He also told his friends that he could see money in pots, under the ground. He pretended to foretell people's future destiny, and, according to his prognostication, his friends agreed to suspend their avocations and dig for the treasures, which were hidden in the earth; a great share of which, he said, was on Joseph Knight's farm.

Old Uncle Joe [Knight], as we called him, was a wool carder, and a farmer; yet he abandoned all business, and joined with a number of others, to dig for money on his premises. While I was visiting my sister, we have walked out to see the places where they had dug for money, and laughed to think of the absurdity of any people having common intellect to indulge in such a thought or action. However, all of those things had long since become oblivious; for in the time of their digging for money and not [p. 32] finding it attainable, Joe Smith told them there was a charm on the pots of money, and if some animal was killed and the blood sprinkled around the place, then they could get it. So they killed a dog,[13] and tried this method of obtaining the precious metal; but again money was scarce in those diggings. Still, they dug and dug, but never came to the precious treasure. Alas! how vivid was the expectation when the blood of poor Tray was used to take off the charm, and after all to find their mistake, that it did not speak better things than that of Abel. And now they were obliged to give up in despair, and Joseph went home again to his father's, in Palmyra.

Some months after this fruitless enterprise he was married to Miss Emma Hale,[14] a school teacher, a fine girl, of good repute and respectable, though poor parentage. It was at this time, which I have mentioned previ-

---

11. Smith arrived in Colesville about 25 June 1830 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 42; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 53).

12. The Knights and Pecks were Universalists.

13. See IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 2.

14. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), who married Joseph on 18 January 1827, see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

ously, that the rumor was in circulation concerning the strange doctrine which he was setting forth; and which, indeed, was creating quite a stir among the people, and it surprised us to hear of his return to Colesville with his wife, to meet again with his old money diggers.[15] But now he had entered upon a new project. He declared an angel had appeared to him and told [p. 33] him of golden plates, which were hidden up to come forth on a certain day; and also that the plates were sacred, containing a history of a people who inhabited this continent in ancient days; also it was that which Isaiah the prophet had spoken of; a vision which should become as the words of a book that is sealed; which was delivered to one that was learned, saying: "Read this, I pray thee;" and he said, "I cannot, for it is sealed;" and the book is delivered to one that is unlearned, saying: "Read this, I pray thee;" and he said, "I cannot, for I am unlearned; moreover, inasmuch as this people draw near me, with their mouths and with their lips do honor me, therefore I will proceed to do a marvelous work and a wonder; for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid [Isa. 29:11-14]."

This is what was circulated throughout the country, and this is the rumor which was now afloat. Smith brought up many prophecies to show that the Lord was about to do a marvelous work in the last days. He also affirmed that he had seen the angel, and had talked with him face to face; and the angel told him at a certain time he would conduct him to the place where the plates could be obtained; also that he was a chosen vessel in the hands of God, to [p. 34] translate them, and bring them to the world. All this was heard and believed by a large number of persons in Colesville, among whom was my own sister and her husband.

Onward hastened the time. The book was translated from the golden plates; it was called the Book of Mormon. Witnesses set their names to the book, testifying that they had seen the plates, and had handled them with their hands; also that they had the appearance of gold. Names of the witnesses: Oliver Cowdry, David Whitmer, Peter Whitmer.[16] Finally, the books were sent out to a wondering people, and many believed in the new doctrine; some of undisputable respectability, taking in both rich and poor. On learning of our sister's conversion into this faith, we were doubtful as to the accuracy of the report; also believing her to be of an unshaken mind and principle, we therefore consoled ourselves with the thought of this being a

---

15. On the date of Smith's arrival, see note 11 above.

16. Austin may have met these three men in Colesville about this time. Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer were two of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, whereas Peter Whitmer, Jr., was one of the eight witnesses.

probable mistake. At this time they had organized a church, which consisted of sixty members.[17] They were also at the commencement baptizing and confirming by the laying on of hands, for the reception of the Holy Ghost. The same ordinance also was practiced to heal the sick and cast out devils; all of which was accomplished by the laying on [p. 35] of the hands of the ordained elders of the Church of Latter Day Saints.

I now visited my sister to try if possible to convince her of the error into which she had innocently been decoyed and deceived. However, this was of no effect whatever. She was as firm as the everlasting hills in the belief of Mormonism, and seemed to have the whole Bible at her tongue's end. She was of the belief that God had again visited His people, and again set His hand, the second time, to recover the house of Israel. She also was of the belief that this was the work, and warned me against condemning that which I did not understand, lest I should be found fighting against God's will.

By this time my faith had grown weak in regard to changing her mind, and I thought it best for me to go back to my brother's, and henceforth to let them alone. I considered it a deception and delusion; but as I was necessarily detained over the Sabbath, I attended services with my sister. The discourse was delivered by Oliver Cowdry, an elder of the Mormon church, and a witness to the gold plates. After preaching, several were baptized,[18] and the converts were increasing rapidly. For some time, having meetings daily, and also evenings, the [p. 36] excitement was great, insomuch that many were overcome by the spirit, and were, seemingly, unconscious of all around them. On awaking from this trance, they would say they were happy, and had seen angels and talked with them.[19] However, I did not feel interested in this direction. It had hitherto appeared most simple of all things, and I was decidedly against such proceedings. I was still detained at my sister's. For some reason I could not get back to my brother's, in Sanford; and, at this time, I cannot re-

---

17. Austin's estimate of church membership is too high for late June 1830 (see also page 41 of Austin's book below). According to church records, there were twenty-seven baptized members in June 1830 and sixty-two members toward the end of September (see VI.G.2, FAR WEST RECORD, 9 JUN 1830, 26 SEP 1830 & 2 JAN 1831). After the Knights and others were baptized on 28 June 1830, the Colesville branch was organized with about fourteen members. But by spring the next year, the branch had grown to over sixty members (Porter 1971, 299-303).

18. This may refer to the baptisms of 28 June 1830.

19. Newel Knight was among those who experienced this phenomenon (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 41-42; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 52).

member the cause of my prolonged stay. While I tarried I attended church with my sister. Sidney Rigdon came into Colesville any [and] preached to a numerous congregation.[20] We did not class him as a Mormon, as we were informed that he was a Baptist minister, from Paynsville [Painesville], Ohio. The words of his text—"O, foolish Gallatians, who hath bewitched you that ye should not obey the truth [Gal. 3:1]?" It was, indeed interesting, and great attention and silence prevailed; and it was acknowledged by all to be the best sermon ever preached in that vicinity. He stayed several days, seeming to have special business with Joseph Smith and the leaders of the new Mormon church. I mention these facts only because I think to this day that he had something to do in getting up the [p. 37] Book of Mormon, and we found, after his return to Ohio, that he was also a believer in the new doctrine.

This seemed rather strange, that a man of his talents should be a believer in anything so strange as this appeared to be; and, as I was now about to go back to my brother's in Sanford, my sister told me that God would give me a sure witness to the truth of this work, if I would only ask him; it was my custom to daily go to him. I therefore thought to make this an item to be remembered, and, in my feeble petition I humbly asked Him to show me the truth of this, least I should be found to rebel against His holy will. I had selected a retired place in the grove, and an incident occurred which is to this day beyond my comprehension. It was three loud raps on a tree near me; so loud, and in quick succession, that I felt the jar and wind of the blows. I immediately arose to my feet and closely examined the place. All was silent, and nothing could be seen. I was somewhat frightened, and never thought of this as a witness to the truth of Mormonism. The excitement had now reached to a high pitch; and the old father of all mischief and disturbance, helped to circulate a report that I was intending to join the Mormon church on the [p. 38] Sabbath following.[21] This false rumor reached the attention of my brother, and the church of which I was a member. A complaint was entered against me to the church[22]; next, a course of gospel labor commenced. They visited me three times; each time I assured them I had no thought of joining them (the Mormons). This they did not seem to hear; and, to sum up the matter, their uncharitable actions drove me farther and still farther from believing in anything good. I was not yet eighteen years of age. My heart was stricken,

---

20. Austin jumps ahead to Smith's and Rigdon's visit to Colesville in December 1830. On Sidney Rigdon (1793-1876), see introduction to I.A.13, SIDNEY RIGDON ACCOUNT, CIRCA 1836.

21. Probably 27 June 1830.

22. This complaint was submitted to the leaders of the Presbyterian church at Sanford, reproduced by Austin on page 43 of her narrative (see below).

and I could see no love manifested. In the advancement of time I perceived they still believed I intended joining that church, without listening to what I told them or trying to ascertain the truth in regard to it. They did not come to me in love and ask me to go with them to my brother's or my father's, but continued to come and see me. I had been homesick, and had had several hearty crying in secret, because I could not get back to my brothers. The team was always in use, or some other very essential thing to attend to. I acknowledge my feelings were not as pleasant as they probably might have been had I been situated in a more pleasing, cheerful, delightful attitude.

It was one Sabbath day, beautiful and [p. 39] and bright. We had been to church. Several had assembled at Newell Knight's, as was the general custom, for he was an elder.[23] A message was sent to me that Esick Lyon wished to see me at the grove, which was some distance from the house; that he wished a friendly interview with me. I felt reluctant in granting his request, but through the advice of my sister I ventured to go. I at this time attempted to make plain to him the reason of my tarrying at my sister's, and I then believed he understood me perfectly. While in the midst of our conversation, who should come but the Rev. Mr. [John] Sherer,[24] pastor of our church in Sanford. He came and took my hand, and holding it so long and firmly I thought it odd. I had tried to disengage this unwelcome cordiality, but had no success. I then asked my brother's assistance; but he declined, saying I would do well to listen to Mr. Sherer's council. However, we were not in the least surprised to find every member of the Mormon church on hand. My sister hastened to me, and soon wrenched off the hand that held mine. "What are you doing with my sister?" she asked with an authoritive expression. "What are you doing with my sister?" again she asked, her face looking white as snow as she uttered these words. [p. 40] There were about sixty Mormons now in close contest with my brother and Mr. Sherer. I left them to settle the matter as best they could; I cared not how if I only obtained my liberty. I then enjoyed a few moments of sweet, uninterrupted tranquility, having the house to myself for at least one half hour. This might probably have been a

---

23. Newel Knight was not ordained a priest until 26 September 1830 (see VI.G.2, FAR WEST RECORD, 9 JUN 1830, 26 SEP 1830, & 2 JAN 1831). Sometime before June 1831, he was ordained an elder (L. Cook 1981, 78), but during the time Austin describes, he was still a priest.

24. On John Sherer (1791-?) and his account of the affair, see IV.C.1, JOHN SHERER TO ABSALOM PETERS, 18 NOV 1830. See also IV.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 42-43; and IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 54-55.

little skirmish in the christian warfare; but if this is the case, O, tell it not in Gath.

The members of the household were gathered in again from the field of strife, together with quite a number of elders, and also members, and were once more seated composedly, talking and singing, when my uncle[25] rode up to the door on a white, stately, beautiful horse, and as he drew up he exclaimed, "You are happy now you have accomplished your purpose, and I hope you enjoy it; but this will not be of long endurance, let me tell you." "O, yes," said one of the elders, "you are an attorney, probably you will take steps in this matter, but not to-day." ["]Sir," said another Mormon elder, "you are mad; you look as white as the horse you are riding; to-day is the holy Sabbath, and you are a deacon; don't indulge in such a passion." Many hard words were used [p. 41] on both sides; and here the subject ended, by putting spurs to the white steed, under a two hundred and twenty burden, which seemed light and easy for the noble animal. That night was dark and rainy. A messenger was plodding through darkness, mud and rain, and dead of night, to my father's in Guilford, thirty miles distant. The messenger said he did not spare the horse. He arrived at Guilford some time in the night, and, waking them, told the story. After getting permission, he went to a lawyer and obtained a power of attorney. Arriving at Colesville, he came to me saying he now had authority to take me away. I told him "I could go without all that trouble, and did not think it necessary to use the law in the case; and now, as I have a good opportunity, I will speak a few words for myself—this was my brother-in-law, whom I will call P— T—.[26] Probably you are somewhat unacquainted with the affair altogether; I will say, that I came here for the purpose of talking with my sister about the absurdity of believing in Mormonism, and finding it useless to say more on that subject, I concluded to return to my brother, Esick Lyon [Colburn], and let her enjoy her own opinion. But Newell Knight was busy, and could not spare the [p. 42] time or the team either to take me home, and he desired me to tarry a few days,[27] he would then go with me.

"Not long after this it was circulated that I intended to go into the Mormon church, and a copy of the complaint which was entered against me to the church in Sanford, was handed me. It read as follows:

---

25. It has been suggested that the uncle was Henry Colburn of Sanford (Marquardt and Walters 1994, 183; on Henry Colburn, see note 28 below).

26. This person remains unidentified.

27. According to Smith's history, Sherer attempted the abduction on Sunday, 27 June (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 42-43).

"*To the Church of Christ, in Sanford:*

"WHEREAS, E[mily]. M. [Colburn], a member of said church, embraces a most wicked and dangerous heresy; and whereas, we have taken with her the first and second steps of gospel labor, without obtaining satisfaction, we therefore make complaint to the church of which said E[mily]. M. [Colburn] is a member, praying that the brethren of said church would bring her to an account for her unchristian conduct; and, as in duty bound, your servants will ever pray.

H.M.[28]
E.L.[29]
B.S."

"Those are the names of the officers in our church who signed this copy of complaint. And now you are here with authority to take me away. What does all this bustle signify? Explain to me, if you can? It is all plain to me; I am willing, yes, more than willing, to go back to my brother's." "Can you go to-mor[p. 43]row?" asked P— T—. "I can go to-day, if you like," I answered; "but let me ask, what did you understand in this affair? Probably you understood that I was obstinate in this matter, did you not?" "I did," said P— T—, "and I believe what you have stated to be true as gospel. I also know who the instigator is, but I shall decline telling at present, for certain reasons." "I know who you allude to, but it would not be proper to mention his name; the church have great confidence in him, so let the matter rest."

The day following[30] we started early, and before dinner time we reached Sanford. I met sober faces and cold hands on my arrival, but tried to choke down my feelings as best I could, knowing that a lane, though ever so long, must have a turn. I received daily visits from the pastor of our church, who gave me a prayer book and wished me to learn some of the prayers; but I returned the book, saying I wished to be led and taught by one who said, "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me." [p. 44]

The day was beautiful as ever eyes witnessed, and on the checkered lattice the sun shone gold-like through the green leaves, intermingled with

---

28. Probably Austin's uncle, whom she elsewhere (p. 25) refers to as H.M.C., and likely the same Henry Colburn listed in the 1825 and 1830 censuses of Sanford (1830:63; see also Walters 1984, 31, n. 28).

29. Evidently Austin's brother Esick Lyon Colburn. At the end of her book, Austin states that her brother "was one of those who signed the copy of complaint entered against me by the Presbyterian church in Sanford, New York" (p. 251).

30. Perhaps Monday, 28 June.

bright purple blossoms; and all was quiet in the household, and all the duties of domestic toil for that day was over. My brother Esick Lyon and his wife had gone to a neighboring town on business, and I was the only occupant of the premises. I had seated myself in a place convenient to notice the the door of the millinery establishment, attending part of my duty at that post also. I was now drawn into a train of meditation, while my needle was my right hand companion; and, although it had an eye, it shed not a tear over my bitter memories of the past, and made not an apology for half-uttered grievances. "Are you alone?" said a voice which I readily recognized as my cousins. "Yes, I am alone; come in, Esther [Nash].[31] Why did you not come sooner?" I asked, as she carelessly drew up a chair close to me. "What have you been thinking about? your eyes look red, E. M. [Emily M. Colburn] What is the matter?" she contin[p. 45]ued, as she bent over with her elbows on her knees, in a listening attitude. "Dear Esther," at last I said, "you cannot know how it grieves me to think how unwise some have acted toward me; I have been treated as though I was some guilty culprit trying to escape the hand of justice. Shame on the instigator of such mischief; and as to the story that I was obstinate, and would not leave Colesville unless I was forced, that is not true. And now I am watched so close all the time I dare not stir out of the house five minutes before they are looking for me." "I wonder how they dare leave you to-day," said my cousin, laughingly, and continued, "E. M., did you know your uncle was in the grove with a horse and buggy at the time cousin Esick Lyon talked with you?" "I did not know of it; never heard of it until now. O, Esther Nash, you surprise me; and did he intend taking me at that time?" "Yes, he did." "Well, that is why Mr. Sherer held my hand so firmly; I really thought he was crazy. He told me to go with him, and tried to drag me farther and farther down the road. I did not know then that uncle was in the neighborhood, until he rode up to the door at Sarah's [Sally Knight]; but they were all defeated in that plan. O, Esther, to think of kidnapping a poor little inoffensive [p. 46] girl! Only think of a big man like uncle making such a heroic conquest! He ought to be proud of even the attempt."

Here the talk ended, with a shrug of the shoulders and a hearty laugh. "I must go," said Esther, putting on her sunbonnet. "Don't hurry away so quickly, dear cousin, I shall be lonely." "We expect company to-morrow, and I must help; now look on the bright side," she said, as she tripped off to the hotel, whose proprietor was David Nash,[32] and who probably some of

---

31. Possibly the daughter of David K. Nash (see note 32 below).

32. David K. Nash, in his thirties, is listed in the 1830 census of Sanford, Broome County (1830:63). He is listed with his wife (in her thirties), three daughters, and two sons. David was evidently Esther's father and Emily's uncle.

my readers will recognize, as he spent the last of his days in Oshkosh, Wisconsin. But I must hasten with my narrative, and knowing the value of time, I will make the best use possible of that which is allotted to me, knowing that each moment, as it flies, will never return.

After quietude was once more established in our circle, the pastor, as was his custom, came to visit me. This time, however, was something special. He told me there would be a meeting at the church the day following, and he wished me to attend; also, it immediately concerned me, etc. I did not intend to be obstinate, but my feelings revolted against it. I went, however, as the meeting was expressly for the purpose of bringing me to an account. [p. 47] I was now before the church to say what I could in my own defense; for, until I had made reconciliation to the church I could not be permitted at the communion table. The time came for me to reply to the complaint entered against me, and I arose and told them the charges brought against me were incorrect, and I was very sorry that so much hard labor had been done under false colors; but this I would say, for the satisfaction of the church, that inasmuch as I had been the means of so much dissatisfaction, I felt heartily sorry, and hoped that God and the church would pardon that mistake. This seemed to be all that was necessary, and they gave me the hand of fellowship, and here the trouble ended.

Now the sun shone out brightly after a storm of strife, and I felt myself at liberty. The culpability of the past had disappeared within the folds of foggy suggestions, and as I hoped, had landed and buried up in the sea of falsehoods, its legitimate mould. I now felt the load was [p. 48] removed, and I was no longer treated as a stranger in a strange land. My aunt, Mrs. Nash[33] was now, as I noticed, making preliminary arrangements for a ride, as I had heard her giving orders to the hostler to clean the carriage, and reserve the fleet team for her use. The next morning she came in and said she was getting up a party to go to the town of Guilford, and asked my brother's wife if she would be one of the number. "Most assuredly," answered H.[34] "I have been wishing to go on a visit for a number of weeks; in fact, aunt, Deacon Jewel[35] will think, will blame, will disown me, if I don't visit him soon." "O, no; not so bad as that," my aunt said laughingly, "Deacon Jewell is not a man who invents evil." "Aunt, can I go?" [I asked.] "Of course you must. Now girls, be ready early; I will start at seven A.M.; now be ready, the team won't stand a moment." The next morning found us moving rapidly toward Guilford. My

33. This person remains unidentified.
34. Henry Colburn's wife? (see note 28).
35. This person remains unidentified.

aunt was a model for a landlady; she was large and well adapted to her station, which she nobly filled, most elegantly, in every department of her occupation. To see her smile was enough to make one feel welcome and at home. I arrived at my father's house in time for dinner, and once more partook of a repast at my father's [p. 49] table, with my parents and brothers and sisters. I was happy to get home once more. "Home, sweet Home!" Did ever words reach a prodigal's ear which sounded more sweet than those to mine? ...

Now I was once more in the fold of my father's house, and in the society of my beloved sister Jane. Braiding straw bonnets was still the unrelenting custom and occupation while at home, although we were accustomed to this [p. 50] work at an early age, besides going to the academy for five years; and now, after serving my time at millinery for two years, I will leave my readers to judge whether my time was spent in idleness. I now resumed my straw work with my sister, and as we did dot [not] attend school at this time it was work, work, work, with our straw, in the same attitude from morning to night, and not unfrequently until a very late hour, also. This was the everlasting routine of the monotonous life of the straw-braider. However, we enjoyed times of recreation. ... [p. 51] ...

At this period nothing transpired to obstruct our onward prosperity and peace. But the human heart is ever active, and who can say whether it will beat for our happiness or our misery? for the human heart is deceitful above all things. [p. 52] ...[36]

In the autumn of the year [1830], when silence prevailed through the household, and also the outward world seemed in slumber, a thought came into my mind that my sister Sarah and her husband, Newell Knight, would come within an hour or two. I tried to abandon the thought, but it still sounded in my mind, over and over again. I could not think of anything else. Finally, I said to mother that my impression was that Sarah and her husband would be there within two hours. This astonished my mother, [p. 56] and she wondered how I could think they would come, as we had not heard from them for several months. I then said I would go to one of the neighbors and wait their coming, for the time would seem tiresome. However, I was soon in the company of the old lady, with whom I loved to visit. But my stay was of short duration, for here came my little brother with his silken locks waving in the wind. "Sarah has come," he said, laughing; "She has come!" I soon proved this assertion, to my own astonishment, as well as to the surprise of all of the household. We met as loving sisters meet. This strange presentiment

36. Her account of having seen an "apparation" of a woman dressed in a dark robe outside her father's home is here deleted (pp. 53-56).

seemed to baffle our skill to overcome in a degree possible to enter into conversation for a time, as we found it difficult to collect our usual decision of thought.

This was my sister, from whose house I had been once compelled to go on account of their being Mormons; and, strange as it may appear, my sister prevailed on my parents to let me go with them when they returned home; and yet more strange when, as if by some unknown power, I was baptized and confirmed in the Mormon church the next Sabbath after![37] How it thus happened I will ask my readers to explain, for that intention had not entered my [p. 57] heart when I left my father's house; and I look back with surprise to this day, when I think of those awful days of temptation when I united with the Mormon church. I verily thought I was in the way of my duty, for Christ said, "He that loveth father or mother, brother or sister more than me is not worthy of me."

My sister Sarah was a kind and loving sister; no one could be more kind and no one could be more truthful; so having the utmost confidence in her integrity, it is not strange that I, who was much younger, should coincide with her without any detriment to myself. We are told to "prove all things, and hold fast that which [is] good." This maxim is applicable in this case as well as to mortals. The truth is, women covet knowledge in this as in other things. The pursuit of knowledge, as regards them, is always attended with difficulties. Another fact is, from our birth to our death we are the slaves of prejudice and of circumstances.

The winter following I went with several others to Kirtland, Ohio. ...

37. This probably occurred in the fall of 1830 (Porter 1971, 216).

8.
ASA B. SEARLES REMINISCENCE, 1882

History of Lee County (Chicago: H. H. Hill and Co., 1882), 308, 397.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Asa B. Searles (1810-?) was born at Cincinnatus (now Pitcher), Chenango County, New York. At age twelve (c. 1822), he went to live with Edmund Meigs of Tinkertown (now Hobart) to learn the cabinet trade. Because of ill treatment, he ran away after a year and a half. He next went to live with his oldest brother, Harry, in Marathon, where he remained until age sixteen (ca. 1826). He states that he moved to South Bainbridge (Afton) during the middle of the school term and that Joseph Smith attended the same school. He remained in South Bainbridge four or five years. For about six years he rafted lumber and logs on the Susquehanna River with David Hale, Emma Smith's older brother. In 1832 he married Patience Stockwell of Bainbridge. In 1837 he moved to Palestine Grove, Lee County, Illinois. In 1848 he laid out Binghamton, situated about one mile east of Amboy, where he opened and maintained the "Binghamton House" and erected a store (*History of Lee County,* 1882, 397; *Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County,* 1893, 143; F. Stevens 1914, 276).

... In the community were acquaintances of Smith's boyhood, and one at least, Uncle Asa Searles, had been a school-fellow. ... [p. 308] ... Going now [at age sixteen] to South Bainbridge, he [Searles] lived there four or five years, and attended school where his brother Lemuel taught. Joe Smith, the coming prophet, was a fellow-pupil,[1] with whom, uncle Asa says, he had many a wrestle; but young Smith was a large, strong fellow and could handle any of the boys. He was lazy, but kind-hearted, had a large brain and a good deal of ability. The whole family of Smiths, including the mother, were bony, stout-built persons, and in a little while they had all settled in that neighborhood.[2] ... [p. 397]

---

1. This was likely during the winter of 1825-26 when Smith evidently also attended school with Josiah Stowell, Jr. (see IV.B.1, JOSIAH STOWELL, JR., TO JOHN S. FULLMER, 17 FEB 1843; and IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826).

2. While Joseph Jr. and Sr. stayed with Josiah Stowell, the Smiths as a family never lived in South Bainbridge.

9.
K. E. BELL STATEMENT, 1885

K. E. Bell, Affidavit, 6 May 1885, Painesville, Lake County, Ohio, Arthur B. Deming Collection, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Ketchel E. Bell[1] (1803-?) was born at Harpersfield, Delaware County, New York. He is listed in the 1820 census of Sodus, Ontario County, New York (1820:125). According to the present affidavit, his family lived briefly in Broome County in the early 1820s. In 1825 he moved to Painesville, Lake County, Ohio, where he farmed, according to the 1880 census record. The details of his death are unknown, but he was still living in Painesville in 1885 when Arthur B. Deming obtained the present affidavit.

Bell's statement was published in Deming's *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (January 1888): 3. The following transcription is taken from the original affidavit at the Chicago Historical Society, apparently written in Deming's hand in ink and signed by Bell.

I was born in Harpersfield, Del=eware Co[,] NY Dec 3d 1803. Our family lived several years in Broome Co[,] NY four miles from Badgers Settlement where we did our trading. I came to Painesville[,] O[hio] in 1825 and boarded with Carlos Granger. ... [p. 1] ... I atten=ded the first Mormon Meeting [Parley P.] Pratt[2] and [Oliver] Cowdry[3] held in Painsville.[4] My brother Milo [Bell][5] from Broome Co[,] NY was present. They told about

---

1. Bell's first name appears variously as Ketchel, Ketchail, and Kitchall; his middle initial(s) as E, A.E., and an old English digraph, Æ.

2. On Parley Parker Pratt (1807-57), see introduction to III.K.16, PARLEY P. PRATT AUTOBIOGRAPHY (PART I), CIRCA 1854.

3. On Oliver Cowdery (1806-50), see "Introduction to Oliver Cowdery Collection."

4. Apparently during the so-called Lamanite mission, probably in November 1830. Richard L. Anderson has noted, "Bell might have confused Kirtland with Painesville, but Ketchel E. Bell is enumerated in Painesville on the 1830 census" (R. L. Anderson 1971, 495, n. 74).

5. This person remains unidentified.

Prophet Jo Smith finding the Gold Plates and said they saw them.[6] My brother ridiculed them after the meeting. He told me he knew Jo Smith when he was digging near the Susquehanna River for Capt Kidds Money. Jo had a Peepstone through which he claimed to see hidden or burried Treasure. Jo sold shares to all who would buy and kept the money.[7] He said they would make a circle and Jo Smith claimed [p. 2] if they threw any dirt over the circle the money chest would leave. They never found any Money. Jo Smiths brother Hirums wife [Jerusha Barden][8] was a cousin of Mrs Bell[.][9] It was claimed she died during confinement because her husband refused her the serv=ices of a Physician.[10] Eseck Roosa[11] an expert accountant and brother of Dr Roosa[12] of Painsville who prepared for the press most of Howes Book on Mormon=ism while in conversation with me about [Sidney] Rigdon[13] and Mormonism, several times told me that Rigdon told the people in Mentor and Painsville that he was going to Pittsburgh[,] Pa[,] but he went to Rochester NY instead. Eseck said he was visiting in Rochester and while on the street he was invited to enter a building near by and [p. 3] hear a very smart man preach. Rosa replied ["]I think I have heard that voice before.["] When he entered the room he found Elder Sydney Rigdon

---

6. The word "they" evidently refers to the Book of Mormon witnesses Oliver Cowdery and Peter Whitmer, Jr.

7. On Smith selling shares, see also IV.D.10, WILLIAM R. HINE STATEMENT, CIRCA MAR 1885; and V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825.

8. On Jerusha Barden Smith (1805-37), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 120.

9. Bell's wife remains unidentified and her relationship to Jerusha Barden Smith unconfirmed.

10. Jerusha died on 13 October 1837 at Kirtland, Ohio. Hyrum was in Far West, Missouri, at the time of his wife's death (J. Smith 1948, 2:519).

11. Esek H. Rosa is listed in the 1880 census of Painesville, Lake County, Ohio, as a "Retired Book Keeper."

12. Probably Dr. Storm Rosa (1791-1864), an early physician of Painesville and pioneer in homeopathy medicine in Ohio. He was born at Coxsackie, Greene County, New York (*History of Geauga and Lake Counties,* 1878, 31-32). A newspaper clipping in Charles Woodward's scrapbook seems to confirm the relationship between Rosa and Howe claimed by Bell: "Eber D. Howe and Storm Rosa ... resolved to see what there was in Mormonism, and went to work. The result was a book of some 500 pages entitled 'Mormonism Unveiled'" (*Chicago Inter-Ocean,* ca. 1876, undated newspaper clipping in C. Woodward 1880, 2:210).

13. On Sidney Rigdon (1793-1876), see introduction to I.A.13, SIDNEY RIGDON ACCOUNT, CIRCA 1836.

preaching Mor=monism. This occurred sever=al months before Mormonism was preached in Ohio.[14]

[s] K. Æ. Bell

Witnessed by
Clara E Clark[15]

Sworn to and subscribed before me the undersigned by K. E. Bell this 6th day of May AD 1885

D. Clinton Hill[16]
Justice of the Peace
In & for Painesville T[ownshi]p
Lake Co. Ohio.

14. Bell's testimony about Rigdon's preaching in Rochester, New York, several months before Mormonism was preached in Ohio could very well be true. In my book *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Vogel 1988), I documented that Rigdon, along with others in the Ohio Reserve, had adopted a Seeker position similar to Mormonism. Thus, it may have seemed to some that Rigdon was preaching Mormonism before Cowdery and others came to Ohio.

15. This person remains unidentified.

16. Probably Dewitt Clinton Hill, age thirty-six, listed in the 1880 census of Painesville, Lake County, Ohio, as a "Telegraph operator" (1880:412).

10.
WILLIAM R. HINE STATEMENT, CIRCA MARCH 1885

William R. Hine, Affidavit, c. March 1885, *Naked Truths About Mormonism* (Oakland, California) 1 (January 1888): 2. Edited by Arthur B. Deming.

EDITORIAL NOTE

William Riley Hine (1803-?) was born in Colesville, Broome County, New York. He claimed to have seen Joseph Smith digging for salt near his residence in Windsor Township, Broome County, New York, in the early 1820s (however, see note 7 below). D. Michael Quinn locates a "Riley Hine" in the 1830 census of Windsor, Broome County, New York (Quinn 1998, 396, n. 176, 551, n. 225). Hine apparently moved to Kirtland, Ohio, in the early 1830s, and to Munson, Geauga County, about 1845 (see *History of Geauga and Lake Counties,* 1878, 201; and U.S. Census, Munson, Geauga County, Ohio, 1850:368; 1860:722). Arthur B. Deming includes the following about Hine:

> Mr. W. R. Hine resided on his farm in Munson, Geauga County, Ohio, forty years and all his neighbors know him to be an honest man. His wife having died he lives with his daughter, Mrs. Parker, at Chester Cross Roads, seven miles south of the Mormon Temple in Kirtland, Ohio. His right arm is paralyzed and he was compelled to sign with an X.
>
> His mind is strong and memory very good. In the statement missing at Chicago, he stated that the Kell[e]y's[,] Mormon elders from Kirtland, called on him the day of the Ohio State election in Oct., 1884, and asked him questions and he replied. They wrote down something but did not read it to him and he does not know that it is correct.

Deming obtained a statement from Hine in 1885, but it was lost with other papers in Chicago (see "Introduction to Arthur B. Deming Collection"). He subsequently returned to Kirtland, either in 1885 or 1887, and obtained a second statement from Hine. If the Kelleys interviewed Hine in 1884, the interview cannot be located among their papers in the RLDS Church Library-Archives (Independence, Missouri). Hine's statement should be approached with caution since it makes claims contrary to established chronology and history.

I was born February 11, 1803, at Colesville, Windsor Township,[1] Broome County, N.Y. Jo Smith, who became the Mormon prophet, and his father came from Palmyra, or Manchester, N.Y., and dug for salt two summers,[2] near and in sight of my house. The old settlers used to buy salt from an Indian squaw, who often promised to tell the whites where the salt spring was, but she never did. Jo Smith claimed to be a seer. He had a very clear stone[3] about the size and shape of a duck's egg, and claimed that he could see lost or hidden things through it. He said he saw Captain Kidd sailing on the Susquehanna River during a freshet, and that he buried two pots of gold and silver. He claimed he saw writing cut on the rocks in an unknown language telling where Kidd buried it, and he translated it through his peep-stone. I have had it many times and could see in it whatever I imagined.[4] Jo claimed it was found in digging a well in Palmyra, N.Y.[5] He said he borrowed it.[6] He

---

1. Colesville was part of Windsor Township until 1822 when Colesville Township was formed.

2. Hine's statement that "Jo Smith" searched for salt "two summers" near Colesville is problematic. Between early November 1825 and March 1826, according to the reported statement of Josiah Stowell, Smith had searched for salt once, evidently in the South Bainbridge area (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). If he had searched for salt in Colesville, it most likely would have been in the late fall 1826 when he was living and working for Joseph Knight. Perhaps he located salt and others subsequently continued to dig.

3. Joseph Smith reportedly had two stones, one described as a white stone, the other a dark colored stone (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). Hine's description of a "very clear stone" does not seem to fit either. D. Michael Quinn believes the stone Hine saw was the same "whitish" stone that Pomeroy Tucker's informants said Smith found in 1819, although that stone was said to have been "opaque" and to have come from the Chase well (see III.J.8, POMEROY TUCKER ACCOUNT, 1867, 19; Quinn 1998, 50).

4. D. Michael Quinn misinterprets Hine to suggest that Hine too saw "visions" in Smith's stone (Quinn 1998, 52). The intent of Hine's statement is clearly to ridicule Smith by saying that he could see as much as Smith—anything he "imagined."

5. The dark stone came from digging a well for the Chase family in Manchester, New York, in 1822. Here Hine apparently makes the same mistake as Pomeroy Tucker in assuming that the white stone came from the well (cf. III.J.8, POMEROY TUCKER ACCOUNT, 1867, 19, n. 32).

6. Willard Chase also said that Smith borrowed the stone and later refused to return it (III.A.14, WILLARD CHASE STATEMENT, CIRCA 11 DEC 1833, 241).

claimed to receive revelations from the Lord through prayer, and would pray with his men, mornings and at other times. His father told me he was fifteen years old.[7] I called him half-witted. He was miserably clad, coarse and awkward. He had men who did the digging and they and others would take interests.[8] Some would lose faith and others would take their places. They dug one well thirty feet deep and another seventy-five at the foot and south side of the Aquaga Mountain, but found no salt.[9]

My nephew now owns the land he dug on.[10] Asa Stowel[11] furnished the means for Jo to dig for silver ore, on Monument Hill.[12] He dug over one year without success.[13] Jo dug next for Kidd's money, on the west bank of the

---

7. This would incorrectly place Smith in Colesville/Windsor in 1820-21, a date that D. Michael Quinn mistakenly accepts (Quinn 1998, 50). Smith could not have told Hine in 1820-21 that his stone came from a "well in Palmyra" and that it had been "borrowed" since the stone was first discovered in 1822 (see III.A.14, WILLARD CHASE STATEMENT, CIRCA 11 DEC 1833, 240-41). Note that Hine also dates the loss of the translation manuscript (in June/July 1828) to 1825 (see note 30).

8. On Smith selling shares, see also IV.D.9, K. E. BELL STATEMENT, 1885; and V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825.

9. Ouaquaga Mountain is situated south of Colesville in the northern section of Windsor Township.

10. I have been unable to identify Hine's nephew or his exact location in Windsor Township.

11. Asa Stowell's father, Hezekiah Stowell, was Josiah Stowell's second cousin once removed. Asa and his father came to Chenango County in 1786. Asa (ca. 1760-1826) became the first inn-keeper in Bettsburgh in 1788. He died on 3 November 1826 at the age of sixty-six (Randall 1874, 92; J. H. Smith 1880, 161, 165; Death Records, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York; Porter 1971, 178-79).

12. The 1826 court record indicates that Smith located "gold on Monument Hill," situated in the northern section of Windsor Township on the west side of the Susquehanna River (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826).

13. While Josiah Stowell testified in March 1826 that Smith had located gold on "Monument Hill," Hine's claim that Smith's participation occupied "over one year" is doubtful. Smith had been in the area only five months (November 1825-March 1826). However, digging on Monument Hill may have continued in Smith's absence, and Smith may have returned to the site in late 1826 while he was living with Joseph Knight in nearby Colesville (November 1826-January 1827). If one attempts to extend Smith's participation back one year, from 1825-26 to 1824-25, as Quinn tries (1998, 397, n. 176), it becomes difficult to explain Stowell's previous unawareness of Smith (see IV.B.1,

Susquehanna,[14] half a mile from the river, and three miles from his salt wells. He dug for a cannon the Indians had buried, until driven away by the owner of the land. He dug for many things and many parties, I never knew him to find anything of value. He and his workmen lived in a shanty while digging for salt. When it rained hard, my wife has often made beds for them on the floor in our house. Jo became known all over New York and Pennsylvania. Sometimes his brothers were with him. Isaac Hale,[15] a good Methodist, lived seven miles below me on the river. I often stopped with him when rafting. I have attended many prayer-meetings at his house, evenings. Emma[16] was fine looking, smart, a good singer, and she often got the power.[17] Jo stole his wife, Sunday, while Hale was at church.[18]

Jo and his father were all the time telling of hidden things, lead, silver and gold mines which he could see. I called him Peeker. About the spring of 1828, Jo came in front of my house where several men were pitching quoits.[19] I said, "Peeker, what have you found?" He said he had found some metal plates which would be of great use to the world. He had them in a box in a handkerchief which he carried in one hand. I said, "Let me see them." Jo Smith said they must first be sent to Philadelphia to be translated. He said the only man in the world who could translate them lived there. After they were translated the world could see them. Calvin Smith,[20] whose farm joined

---

JOSIAH STOWELL, JR., TO JOHN S. FULLMER, 17 FEB 1843, n. 13), especially since it is claimed that Asa Stowell, a relative of Josiah, funded the digging on Monument Hill.

14. Willard Chase and Lorenzo Saunders mention Samuel Lawrence going with Smith in the fall of 1826 to search for treasure along the Susquehanna River (III.A.14, WILLARD CHASE STATEMENT, CIRCA 11 DEC 1833, 243-44; III.B.12, LORENZO SAUNDERS INTERVIEW, 17 SEP 1884, 9, 11).

15. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

16. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

17. Meaning she "got the spirit," perhaps to sing in tongues.

18. Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery are probably correct in questioning Hine's memory on this point: "Hines [*sic*] gave the day incorrectly as Sunday. The Methodist circuit rider held services on Wednesdays, which accounts for Isaac Hale's absence" (Newel and Avery 1984, 312, n. 3). Rather than Sunday, 14 January 1827, the correct date is probably Wednesday, 17 January, the day prior to their marriage in South Bainbridge.

19. A game in which the players pitch flat iron rings, quoits, at a pin.

20. Calvin Smith, in his thirties, is listed in the 1830 census of Windsor,

mine, said with an oath, he would see them." Jo said if he laid his hands on him he would prosecute him. I told Calvin he better not. Since I have seen the conduct of the Mormons, I have many times regretted that I interfered. Citizens wrote to parties in Philadelphia, where Jo said he had sent the plates, and word was returned they had not received them. Jo said they could not be translated in Philadelphia and they had been sent to New York City.[21] Justice N. K. Nobles[22] wrote to New York and could learn nothing about them. Soon I learned that Jo claimed to be translating the plates in Badger's Tavern, in Colesville, three miles from my house. I went there and saw Jo Smith sit by a table and put a handkerchief to his forehead and peek into his hat and call out a word to [Oliver] Cowdery,[23] who sat at the same table and wrote it down. Several persons sat near the same table and there was no curtain between them.[24] Martin Harris[25] introduced himself to me, and said they were going to bring the world from darkness into light. Martin's wife [Lucy Harris][26] cooked for them, and one day[27] while they were at dinner she put one

---

Broome County, New York (1830:84; see also 1820:16). However, I was unable to discover where his land was located.

21. Apparently in reference to Martin Harris taking a brief transcription of Book of Mormon characters to Charles Anthon in New York City (see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection").

22. On Joel King Noble (1798-1874), see introduction to IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842.

23. On Oliver Cowdery (1806-50), who came to Smith's home in Harmony, Pennsylvania, in early April 1829, see "Introduction to Oliver Cowdery Collection."

24. Concerning the claim that some translating was done in Colesville, see IV.D.4, WILLIAM S. SAYRE TO JAMES T. COBB, 31 AUG 1878. While Smith named only two places where translation was done—Harmony, Pennsylvania, and Fayette, New York—it does not preclude the possibility that some translating was done elsewhere. It is also possible that Hine saw Smith dictating a revelation to Cowdery.

25. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), who worked as Smith's scribe from April to June 1828, see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection." It is extremely doubtful that Harris returned to the Susquehanna area during Cowdery's tenure as scribe (April-June 1829). Perhaps Hine later assumed the person acting as scribe had been Cowdery, which would allow for an 1828 dating for Hine's meeting Harris.

26. On Lucy Harris (1792-1837), who visited Harmony, Pennsylvania, in early 1828, see introduction to III.A.7, LUCY HARRIS STATEMENT, 29 NOV 1833.

27. The words "one day" indicate that Hine has made a transition from his account of seeing Smith, Cowdery, and Harris in Colesville to another story

hundred and sixteen pages, the first part they had translated, in her dress bosom and went out. They soon missed the one hundred and sixteen pages and followed her into the road and demanded them of her. She refused, and said if it was the Lord's work you can translate them again, and I will follow you to the ends of the earth.[28]

Dr. Seymour[29] came along and she gave them to him to read, and told him not to let them go. Dr. Seymour lived one and a half miles from me. He read most of it to me when my daughter Irene was born[30]; he read them to his patients about the country. It was a description of the mounds about the country and similar to the "Book of Mormon." I doubt if the one hundred and sixteen pages were included in the "Book of Mormon." After I came to Kirtland, in conversation with Martin Harris, he has many times admitted to me that this statement about his wife and the one hundred and sixteen pages, as above stated, is true.[31] I heard a man say who was a neighbor to the Mormon Smith family, in Palmyra, N.Y., that they were thieves, indolent, the lowest and meanest family he ever saw or heard of. Hyrum[32] was the best of the family. Many letters were received from Palmyra, stating the bad character of the Smith's. Calvin Smith and I, while burning brush, found a hole which, when cleaned out, was fifteen feet deep; it was covered with poles which had been split with tomahawks; a tree near by was marked each side

---

about Harris's wife stealing a portion of the manuscript, which Hine assumes occurred in Colesville. Hine was not an eyewitness to the latter account but assures readers that it was later verified by Martin Harris in Kirtland, Ohio.

28. Hine's account is a badly garbled version of Martin Harris losing a portion of the translation in Palmyra, New York, and suspecting that his wife took it.

29. Perhaps Ezra Seymour (1784-?) of Colesville who is listed in the 1850 census as a physician. However, since the translation manuscript was stolen in Palmyra, New York, it is highly unlikely that someone living in Colesville would come into possession of the manuscript, which Harris's wife probably burned (see introduction to III.L.16, BOOK OF MORMON PREFACE, 1829).

30. Hine's memory is faulty since his daughter Irena was born about 1825, three years before Harris's loss of the translation manuscript. Irena (Hine) Hayden is listed in the 1860 census of Chardon, Geauga County, Ohio, as being thirty-five (1860:688).

31. Of course, Harris did not confirm the story as here related by Hine. For a discussion of the stolen manuscript, see the introduction to III.L.16, BOOK OF MORMON PREFACE, 1829.

32. On Hyrum Smith (1800-44), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 12.

for seventy feet. Gun barrels and various Indian implements were found later near by. The hole was within twenty rods of Jo's salt digging. Newel Knight,[33] who lived a few miles from me was brought before Justice N. K. Nobles as a witness for reporting Prophet Jo. Smith had cast three devils out of him. Knight testified the first was as large as a woodchuck, the second was as large as a squirrel, the third about the size of a rat. Noble inquired what became of them. Knight said that they went out at the chimney. Jo was discharged. Noble told me later that it made his heart ache to hear the puppy swear. This occurred during the pretended translation of the plates.[34] I met Prophet Jo's father on the dock at Fairport, O., in July, 1831. He inquired if I came on in the Mormon faith, I replied that I did; a crowd soon gathered about us. One of them asked what my faith was, I said the Mormons were the damd'st set of liars and scoundrels I ever knew. My reply caused a shout from many on the dock. We all took a drink.

I rented Claudius Stannard's farm and stone quarry, two miles south of the temple in Kirtland. (Before I rented the quarry, a combination had been formed not to let the Mormons have any stone). I quarried and sold the Mormons the stone used in the construction of the temple, except a few of the large ones which came from Russell's quarry. Prophet Jo and his father frequently talked over with me their experience along the Susquehanna. Jo could scarcely read or write when he lived in New York. He had a private teacher in Kirtland and obtained a fair education. ... When I first saw Emma on the streets in Kirtland, she threw her arms around me and I think kissed me, and inquired all about her father's family. I brought her letters and took some later to Mr. [Isaac] Hale from her. Jo told Emma he had a revelation about the plates, but that he could not obtain them until he had married her.[35] I became acquainted with D[octor]. P[hilastus]. Hurlbut[36] before he

---

33. On Newel Knight (1800-47), see introduction to IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846.

34. Knight's testimony was given before Justice Noble of Colesville during the second of Smith's July 1830 trials, which occurred after the Book of Mormon's publication. For Noble's own account of the trial, wherein he alludes to Knight's testimony, see IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842.

35. This requirement is reflected in other sources: III.A.15, HENRY HARRIS STATEMENT, CIRCA 1833, 252; III.B.15, LORENZO SAUNDERS INTERVIEW, 12 NOV 1884, 16; III.F.1, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEWS WITH JOHN A. CLARK, 1827 & 1828; IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847.

36. On Philastus Hurlbut (1809-83), see "Introduction to Philastus Hurlbut Collection."

left the Mormons. ... I was often in Hurlbut's company, and once while fishing with him on Lake Erie, after he had left the Mormons, he told me he was going to ferret out Mormonism and break it up; I replied you had better break up a nest of yellow jackets. I told him I knew the Mormons in New York State would as soon swear to a lie as to the truth. Later I told Hurlbut to write to Isaac Hale, Jo's father-in-law, and he did.

Hale's reply is published in Howe's "Book on Mormonism."[37] I heard Hurlbut lecture in the Presbyterian Church in Kirtland. ... Hurlbut read Hale's letter in the lecture. Martin Harris said Hale was old and blind and not capable of writing it. I stated that Hale was called the greatest hunter on the Susquehanna, and two years before had killed a black deer and a white bear, which many hunters had tried to kill, also that he was intelligent and knew the Scriptures. ... This statement was read to me and my daughter before being signed. ...

W. R. HINE. X.

Witnessed by:

A. B. DEMING,

Chester, Geauga County, Ohio.

37. See V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

11.
SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY REMINISCENCE, 1898

O[scar] R. Beardsley[1], Notes concerning Joseph Smith, no date, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.[2]

EDITORIAL NOTE

The Reverend Beardsley copied by hand the present item from an unknown source apparently written in 1898 by Sally Ann Beardsley. Sally Ann relates an anecdote about her father seeing Joseph Smith in South Bainbridge (Afton), New York, in 1830. Nothing else is known of her or her relationship to the Reverend Beardsley, although one suspects that they may have been siblings. (See IV.D.14, SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY AFFIDAVIT, 27 MAR 1903).

(Collected by Rev. O[scar] R. Beardsley)

In 1830 Joseph Smith Jr; went by my fathers [Seba Beardsley][3] house that he was building. Wm Roberts,[4] then living on a lot my family [owned]

---

1. Apparently Reverend Oscar Beardsley (see IV.D.16, *AFTON ENTERPRISE,* 20 JULY 1939). Diedrich Willers, Jr., received a letter from the Reverend O. R. Beardsley, dated 13 October 1899, Scranton, Pennsylvania, wherein the latter stated: "My father knew Joseph Smith well in Afton N.Y. formerly South Bainbridge. ... [He] knew many who were with Jo Smith at that early time, [were?] familiar with his places of [resorts?], where he dug for treasure, walking on the water &c." (Diedrich Willers, Jr., Papers, Seneca Falls Historical Society, Seneca Falls, New York).

2. The reverend also copied by hand William D. Purple's 1877 reminiscence (see IV.D.4, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877). The present item is mistakenly filed under William D. Purple, Notes concerning Joseph Smith, 1877 (MS 53).

3. Seba's name is given in IV.D.14, SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY AFFIDAVIT, 27 MAR 1903. Seba Beardsley (or Beardslee), in his thirties, is listed in the 1830 census of Coventry, Chenango County, New York (1830:25).

4. William Roberts, in his thirties, is listed in the 1830 census of Coventry, Chenango County, New York (1830:25).

known as the "Aunt Polly Hunt place"[5] on the Afton road west of the now (1898) place owned by Marcus Delands widow,[6] was working for my father. Father said to Roberts as they saw Smith go by, "Some one ought to shoot that fellow," said it more to express contempt for him, Roberts laughed to think father anticipated Smith ever having any following—Both Roberts & my father lived to see U.S. troops sent to control the Mormons.[7]

The Roberts I mention afterward run the grist mill just south of Coventryville near the Chas. Pearsall place. He after that moved to "Chenango Pi[o]nt" Binghamtin he was the father of Chester Roberts. ...

5. Polly Hunt, evidently the person who moved to Kartright, Delaware County, New York, where she (in her thirties) is listed in the 1830 census (1830:113).

6. Beardsley adds at the bottom and next page: "Chauncy Hart whom I knew well, [and] who once lived on the farm joining the Marcus Deland place on the east[,] had a small peculiar stone like Smiths, that he [p. 1] claimed he could see [in] as could Smith. ..."

7. Reference is to an altercation between the U.S. federal government and Utah Territory in 1857 known as the Utah War.

12.
LU B. CAKE ACCOUNTS, 1899 & 1912

1. "Peepstone Joe and the Peck Manuscript," introduction to Lu B. Cake, *Old Mormon Manuscript Found, Peepstone Joe Exposed* (New York: L. B. Cake, 1899), 9-12.
2. Lu B. Cake, *Susquehanna Stories* (New York: L. B. Cake, 1912), 3-4, 9-10.

EDITORIAL NOTE

In 1899 Lu B. Cake, a poet, humorist, and sometimes actor,[1] published a document written by Reed Peck (1814-94), a Colesville convert who had become disaffected with Mormonism and was subsequently excommunicated in Missouri in 1839. Peck's anti-Mormon treatise dealt with the LDS church leaders' actions during the Missouri conflict of 1838 (see Porter 1971, 210-11). In the introduction to Peck's manuscript, a portion of which is reproduced below, Cake included the reminiscences of Martha Carpenter and others who lived in Afton (formerly South Bainbridge), New York, regarding Joseph Smith's activities there. Also included below are two excerpts from Cake's 1912 book, *Susquehanna Stories,* a work largely containing Indian legends from the Afton area.

[*1. Account, 1899*]

Joseph Smith, Jun. (Mormon Prophet to be), was born at Sharon, Vermont, December 23d, 1805. Ten years after, April, 1815, his father and the family moved to Palmyra, N.Y. Seventy reputable men who knew, stated under oath that this Smith family was ignorant; that the males were drunkards, blasphemers, liars, thieves; who put in their time digging for hidden treasures of the Captain Kidd kind, and defrauding their neighbors.[2] Reputable citizens aver under oath that these Smiths were a low, wicked household

---

1. Cake published a number of other works: *Decoration Day* (Clarinda, Iowa, 1878); *The Devil's Tea-table, and Other Poems* (New York, 1898); and *The Story My Mother Told Me* (New York, [1897?]). For a notice of his appearance as an actor at Sullivan's Hall in Afton, see *Afton Enterprise,* 10 January 1889.

2. Cake here refers to the statements collected by Philastus Hurlbut in Palmyra and Manchester, New York, in 1833 (see "Philastus Hurlbut Collection").

and *Joe the worst of the lot.* These facts are so conclusively proven that Mormonism has to admit them and claim that Joe repented, was converted. In the foregoing pages I said that Joe was of the Devil, and here is the proof—Joe was the worst of the lot. Mormonism must *prove* Joe's reformation, regeneration; but "by their fruits ye shall know them," and Joe's subsequent career makes such proof impossible. His life from Peepstone to Polygamy is confirmation that if you train up a child in the way he should *not* go, when he is old he will not depart from it.

As a New York school boy in his "teens" history and sworn testimony show us Joe with what he [p. 9] called "peep stones," which he held in his hat, his hat over his face, pretending to see things in the stones, tell fortunes, discover hidden treasure, etc. This is important, for it proves the superstitious, tricky character of the boy who is soon claiming to see Heavenly things, and to be able to make divine revelations.

Religious revivals broke out over that part of New York. When the excitement was intense, men and women "had the power," fell in a trance, and under the influence of the spell told of Heavenly visions, made revelations, etc., etc. From "Peepstone" revealing of hidden treasure, to Heavenly revelations by "having the power" was right in Joe's line. He saw how he could improve his specialty—he would do his "peepstone" tricks on a grander scale, under the cloak of religion, instead of in his hat.

Accordingly, in April 1820,[3] when Joe was fifteen years old, he had a vision, and said God the Father and Jesus Christ came to him, told him his sins were forgiven, that all the denominations were wrong and that he was chosen to re-introduce Gospel and Kingdom.

But September 21, 1823, Joe got drunk, swore, lied and swindled, contrary to revelation.[4]

---

3. Joseph Smith said that his First Vision occurred "early in the spring of Eightteen hundred and twenty" (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 3).

4. Cake's assertion that Smith "got drunk, swore, lied and swindled," and was in a "drunken" state on 21 September, the day the angel appeared to reveal the location of the gold plates, rests on unknown authority. Joseph Smith himself introduced the angel's visit by stating that "I was left to ~~all kinds of~~ temptations, and mingling <with> ~~all kinds of~~ society I frequently <fell> into many foolish errors and displayed the weakness of youth and the ~~corruption~~ <foibles> of human nature which I am sorry to say led me into divers temptations ~~to the gratification of many appetites~~ offensive in the sight of God. ... In consequence of these things ... I betook myself to prayer and supplication to Almighty God for forgiveness of all my sins and follies" (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 3).

Train up a child in the way he should *not* go and when he is eighteen years old like Joe Smith, he will not depart from it. Yet Joe claims that while in bed this drunken September 21st, an angel came to him, told him the history of the ancient inhabi[p. 10]tants of America was engraven on gold plates and hidden in a hill between Manchester and Palmyra, in Western New York. Whether it was angel, or alcohol, that gave Joe inspiration, is the question; for although drunk on September 21st, yet on September 22d he claims that he found the plates in the place to which he was directed. Devils and angels strove there, but we are not told which side Joe took; however, the Devil beat a retreat.

Yet Joe Smith is the only witness, as I stated in foregoing pages.

January 18, 1827, Joseph Smith married Emma Hale. Mrs. Martha Carpenter,[5] who saw the wedding party go by, is now living at Addison, N.Y. The house in which he was married now stands on the Fair Grounds at Afton, N.Y.[6] And here is a strange providence! In this rural neighborhood where Joe went to school some,[7] where he graduated in peepstone imposture, where he dug for, but did *not* find his plates,[8] where he was tried for crime,[9] where he was married,[10] where he baptised the first Mormon convert,[11] where he tried to imitate Christ by walking on the water and got

---

5. Martha Alida Carpenter, daughter of Benjamin Carpenter, married Daniel Carpenter (born 1814), her cousin, in 1837. They were living in Addison, Steuben County, New York, as of 1898. Her sister Sarah married Horace Stowell, apparently a cousin of Josiah Stowell (A. B. Carpenter 1898, 285). On Carpenter's seeing the "wedding party" pass by, see IV.D.16, *AFTON ENTERPRISE,* 20 JUL 1939.

6. Concerning the purported house in which they were married, see Porter 1971, 190-94.

7. See IV.E.4, HAMILTON CHILD ACCOUNT, 1869.

8. Cake here reflects the false claim that Joseph Smith dug for the gold plates in Chenango County (see below).

9. Since he later mentions "John Chamberlain, the son of the magistrate that tried Joe" (p. 13), Cake evidently refers to Smith's July 1830 trial in South Bainbridge.

10. Joseph Smith and Emma Hale were married on 18 January 1827 at the residence of Zachariah Tarbell in South Bainbridge.

11. Perhaps referring to the baptism of Josiah Stowell, which possibly occurred at Afton Lake (see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843; and V.C.3, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE REMINISCENCE, 1877).

ducked in the trick[12]—here lived and died Reed Peck,[13] and here was the Peck "Manuscript Found." The fake revelations of Peepstone Joe, and the unmasking revelations of honest Reed Peck, God places here side by side! "The first shall be last and the last shall be first." ... [p. 11] ...

It was in this vicinity that Joe declared no one could lay impious hands on his divine person. Joe strode into the yard of James Aplington[14]; the family looked out and saw their son, Nathan,[15] a bold lover of truth, wallowing His Holiness in the dirt! They pulled off the gigantic and courageous Nathan, and asked the trouble. He answered, "This Prophet has said no one dare lay hands on him! I have proved that he lies." ... [p. 12]

[*2. Account, 1912*]

... Southward still runs the river to where Gold Bible Brook finds the Susquehanna. There Joe Smith pretended to hunt for the [p. 3] Gold Bible his ignorance and illiteracy prevented faking till he mysteriously connected with the Spaulding manuscript and made the Mormon Bible, as history shows. The brook was famous for its suckers, but the biggest and gudgeonest were the Mormons who bit on Joe's sucker bait.[16] ... [p. 4]

... Afton has points of more than legendary interest! On the Fair Grounds is the house where Joe Smith, the Mormon Pretender, married

---

12. See IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880, n. 28.

13. Reed Peck (1814-94), son of Hezekiah and Martha (Long) Peck, was born in New York. The date of his baptism is unknown, but he accompanied his parents to Ohio, then to Missouri, where he became disaffected with the church in 1838. He was excommunicated on 17 March 1839. About this time, he prepared the manuscript the present document introduces. He returned to New York, married Clarissa M. Peck, fathered five children, and died in Afton, Chenango County, New York (Porter 1971, 210-12, 301; Jessee 1992, 578).

14. Perhaps James P. Aplington, one of the first settlers of Sanford, Broome County, New York, who arrived in 1800. He was an assessor at Sanford in 1822 and was associated with the Baptist Church there (H. P. Smith 1885, 305). This is probably the J. P. Aplington, in his sixties, listed in the 1840 census of Sanford (1840:393).

15. Probably N. D. Aplington, in his thirties, listed in the 1840 census of Sanford, Broome County (1840:393).

16. On the claim that Smith searched for treasure at this location, see IV.D.13, HARVEY BAKER REMINISCENCE, 1900.

Emma Hale, his first wife. By Gold Bible Brook on the Buck farm[17] is a cave where Joe dug for his Gold Bible. On the hills are holes where he and his dupes hunted for hidden treasures.[18] Down the river is Mormon Ducking Stool; where Joe pretended to walk on the water and was ducked. On the hill is where Nate Applington wallowed the pretender to prove him a fraud; for Joe said no one dare lay hands on his sacred person. [p. 9] Between Afton and Nineveh is Mormon Maker where early converts were baptized.[19] In Afton the Pretender was tried for "false pretense" in pretending to cast out devils. Joe's Mormon witnesses swore that they saw the devil cast out [and] run away, "about the size of a yaller dog." (See Afton history taken from J. P. Court Record.)[20] A genuine sample of their theology, right from the original records. ... [p. 10]

---

17. The 1875 *Atlas of Chenango County, New York* shows "N. Buck" on Afton Lot 64 along the Cornell Creek (Nichols 1875, 12-13).

18. Perhaps a reference to the three holes situated on the most prominent hill in Afton, directly west of the village and northeast of Josiah Stowell's former home. Long-time resident Hollis Barre says he first learned of the holes from his father and grandfather who pointed them out to him sometime before 1920 and attributed them to Joseph Smith (see Rose 1986). The holes are situated about one mile northeast of Josiah Stowell's farm in the northeast quadrant of Afton Lot 59. They are in close proximity to one another, the two largest holes approximately three feet deep and twelve feet in circumference and eight feet deep and sixteen feet in circumference (see Vogel 1994, 221-22).

19. Evidently a reference to Afton Lake (see IV.C.3, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE REMINISCENCE, 1877).

20. IV.E.4, HAMILTON CHILD ACCOUNT, 1869; see also IV.E.5, S. S. RANDALL ACCOUNT, 1874; and IV.E.6, JAMES H. SMITH ACCOUNT, 1880.

13.
HARVEY BAKER REMINISCENCE, 1900

Harvey Baker, "The Early Days of Mormonism," *Oneonta Herald* (Oneonta, Otsego County, New York), 18 January 1900, newspaper clipping, Jacob Morris Papers, John M. Olin Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Harvey Baker (1818-?) reports stories about Joseph Smith he heard as a boy from the residents of South Bainbridge (now Afton). Baker, age forty-two, is listed in the 1860 census of Oneonta, Otsego County, New York, as a farmer (1860:413).

About 1825[1] Joseph Hervy[2] was in the vicinity of South Bainbridge (Now Afton) and attended a meeting held by Joseph Smith, who afterwards become the noted Mormon leader and the originator of that now numerous sect.

I was then about seven years of age. Of the many things related, was that of his pretended casting a devil out of a man, which was said to pass out in the form of a black dog and disappear.[3] Smith had already considerable notoriety as being able to find lost property by looking into a stone in his hat, the hat being in darkness. He had already made large excavations in that town in search of a reported chest of gold.

A year or so later Smith with his followers left for the west, passing through Coventry into the town of Lisle (now Triangle), thence up the south branch of Halfway brook, a stream that had its rise in the town of Smithville and a small village of that name.

The western or northern branch of Halfback brook passed up and had its rise just in the edge of Cortland county. Just north of this stream was the

---

1. This date is incorrect. The meeting, during which Newel Knight told that Joseph Smith had cast a devil out of him, necessarily would have taken place sometime after April 1830 (see note 3).

2. This person remains unidentified.

3. See I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 39-41; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846; and IV.E.1, *BRATTLEBORO'* (VT) *MESSENGER*, 20 NOV 1830.

place of my birth. This stream was known as Ticknor brook, some three families of that name having farms upon it. The south branch was known as Taft Creek. It was headed from a pond near Smithville. My memory is that some twenty or thirty women, girls, men and boys, on foot and in two old-fashioned western emigrant wagons comprised the emigrating party. I well remember hearing it talked that women left their husbands and families to go with Smith, and the common expression was that it was the most scandalous party that ever left Chenango county.

In the summer of 1828 or 9 my father, mother and myself visited friends in South Bainbridge. They proved to be in the immediate vicinity of where Joe Smith was born[4] and where he commenced his career. My mother had one sister and two brothers, who soon after the close of the Revolution settled in that town. Their homes were on the eastern side of the Susquehanna river about one mile south of the village of Afton and near the locality of the Indian village described by Lieutenant Erkuries Beatty as being called Conihunto and by some others it was spelled Gunna Hunter, a place where the river passes three islands.

My mother's uncles were named Thomas and Enos Cornwall.[5] Each had farms on the east side of the river. The latter was unmarried, while Thomas was married and had sons and daughters. Thomas and Enos Cornwall were then old men, probably each over seventy years of age. Their sister, Eunice Cornwall, married Hezekieh Medbury[6] of New Berlin. At this time they owned the farm next above that of Thomas Cornwall, and this farm was one where there had been digging of holes in the rocks by direction of Joe Smith in his fruitless hunt for hidden treasure. All these people were

---

4. Baker reflects an incorrect tradition that Joseph Smith was born in Chenango County (see note 10 below).

5. Thomas and Enos Cornwall (Cornell or Cornwell), sons of Abraham Cornwall, came to South Bainbridge from Cheshire, New Haven County, Connecticut, in 1796. Thomas (ca. 1770-1841) died on his farm in Afton, followed by the death of his wife, Anna, nine days later. Enos (ca. 1767-1843) died a bachelor (*Afton Enterprise,* 15 December 1881; see also Deeds, Liber DD, 423, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York, which mentions that the Cornwalls came from Cheshire, Connecticut).

6. Hezekiah Medbury (1780-1859) sold his New Berlin farm in the 1830s and moved to South Bainbridge, where he lived immediately east of Bettsburg on Lot 62 (J. H. Smith 1880, 386; IV.E.4, HAMILTON CHILD ACCOUNT, 1869; U.S. Census, New Berlin, Chenango County, New York, 1830:239). Medbury had owned land on New Berlin Lots 25 and 34 in 1812 (Deeds, Liber P, 509, and Liber T, 279, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York).

full of accounts of the doings of Smith and his followers, and it was adjoining one of the farms where the farce of walking on the water was enacted. It was in haying time and the Cornwalls were mowing near the river and they discovered tracks through the brush to its bank. The boys made an examination which developed a plank bridge just under the water which extended across a level branch of the river to its opposite side. The plank[s] were supported by legs driven into the ground, upon which they were supported, and a tall straight tree was plainly visible in its line. The mowers procured a saw and weakened the third plank so that no one could step upon it without going into the river to its bottom. That night from a good vantage point the boys watched for its development. After dark[,] on came Smith with a number of his proselytes to see walking on the water verified. Smith stepped forth with confidence and turned to address his hearers, telling them that this performance was wholly a matter of faith and that their faith for its success was as necessary as was his own, and continuing we will all thus continue our faith—and walking onward until coming to the weakened legs, down went the prophet breast deep into the river. He clambered out of the water with the answer that their faith had weakened and that his alone was not sufficient to support him on the water.[7] Here too was his favorite place for baptizing his converts. During the winter they had cut the ice ready for such an immersion. Some mischievous boys, knowing where there was a large, dead hog, drew it and carefully fastened it in the open baptismal font. So chagrined were the prophet and following candidates that they left in disgust. Such are some of the stories with which we were regaled, but nothing so real was left for my examination as was that of the hole in the rocks.

The next day two of my wife's cousins and myself started to examine Smith's hole in the rocks. A creek crossed the Cornwall farm which came from the range of hills east of the Susquehanna river and on the flat joined its waters with that stream. We followed up the creek deep into the gorge until we came to a huge pile of rocks which had but a few years before been tumbled down on the east side of the stream from a place high up the gorge—probably fifty or more feet. We climbed up the broken pile to where these huge rocks had been sent down. There in the steep side hill from solid rocks had this hole been excavated. Far above huge logs held back other rocks and large amounts of dirt from falling into the excavation. I did not wonder that this hole in the rocks had cost Mr. Church that fine farm, but

7. Regarding this folktale about Joseph Smith's attempt to walk on water, see IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880, n. 28.

still I wondered that a story of gold in on [an] iron chest could so have deluded any people. Gold in rocks was possible but gold in an iron box in those undisturbed rocks was impossible. So it proved to be. When nearing the prize all was to be silent. A single sound was to cause it to vanish. The story was that when the last rock was raised a laborer broke the silence with an exclamation of joy and all the hoped for wealth vanished amid, fire, smoke and smell of brimstone.

The fine farm of Hezekiah Medbury was the farm which was sacrificed to pay for Joseph Smith's mine-finding folly.[8] A large hole, I was informed, even larger but less expensive was made by Smith west of the Susquehanna river with a like result. During all these years I had never been informed of the exact place of Joseph Smith's birthplace, although I had often been told it was not far from Nineveh. In December 1867 I was engaged in finishing the railroad to Harpersville and was boarding at Scott's hotel in Nineveh. One evening Chief Engineer Wentz and others were there canvassing railroad matters and Mr. Wentz said, we want you also to make us a cheap building for an engine house, naming about the size he desired built. Riley Bush,[9] a large land and property owner, was sitting near me. I turned to him and inquired, "Can you go to-morrow with your team and help me purchase the lumber for that engine house." Only a few minutes before the conversation had been about the Mormons and Mr. Bush's reply was "Yes, I will; and will carry you by the place where Joe Smith was born."

The next morning he took his team and drove down on the east side of the Susquehanna river. Near a four corners about half way to Ouaquaga he pointed out to me a pile of stone which he said was the ruins of the chimney of the very house in which Joe Smith, the Mormon leader, was born. I know

---

8. Hezekiah Medbury's financial troubles in New Berlin began in 1827. On 16 February 1827 he mortgaged a 130-acre lot (Hezekiah Medbury, Land transfer to Nathaniel Medbury, Mortgages, Book H, 448-49, Chenango County Clerk's Office, Norwich, New York). On 4 June he sold three lots totaling 150 acres to Enos Cornell of Bainbridge (Deeds, Book LL, 92-93). On 23 October he sold another lot to Richard Fisk of New Berlin (Deeds, Book KK, 415-16). In April 1830 Medbury mortgaged land to Arnold Medbury (Mortgages, Book K, 196-97). Then, through sales on 14 February and 15 March 1831 to the same person, he evidently sold out in New Berlin (Deeds, Book PP, 114, 115). It remains uncertain how these transactions may or may not relate to Medbury's alleged involvement in Joseph Smith's treasure seeking activities in Chenango County.

9. Riley Bush (1818-?) was born in Bainbridge and married Jane Denison in 1845 (H. P. Smith 1885, 563). He is listed, at age forty-one, in the 1860 census of Colesville, Broome County, as a New York-born farmer (1860:746).

this birthplace does not agree with the published accounts, but I am confident my informer was correct.[10] Of course all I say and know personally of Joe Smith and of Mormonism has to come through tradition and of reading, but one undeniable fact still remains and that is of the hole in the rocks in Afton. I have myself seen and still have some samples of iron pyrites I brought home so long ago from that hole, and I have every reason to believe that all I have otherwise learned of the matter is found on facts.

I well remember when a boy that a man named Kimball lived and carried on sugar making about one-half mile from my home. I was often in his shop. People said that when Smith passed through the adjoining valley Kimball joined them. Years afterward I often heard one Marcus Page,[11] who owned the log shop in which he worked, say Kimball was with the Mormons and still later that the noted Mormon leader [Heber C. Kimball] was one of his sons, but I do not know the fact.[12]

HARVEY BAKER,

Oneonta, Jan. 8th, 1900.

10. This folktale of Joseph Smith's birth is false. It may have been based on another Joseph Smith.

11. Perhaps Marcus Page, age fifty-two, listed in the 1850 census of Triangle, Broome County, New York, as a "Mechanic" (1850:259).

12. Baker must have had another Kimball in mind since Heber's father, Solomon Farnham Kimball, died on 9 July 1825 in Mendon, New York (Heber C. Kimball Family Group Record, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah).

14.
SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY AFFIDAVIT, 27 MARCH 1903

Sally Ann Beardsley, Affidavit, 27 March 1903, Jacob Morris Papers, John M. Olin Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

EDITORIAL NOTE

This item is a handwritten copy of Sally Ann Beardsley's affidavit sworn before Delos Van Woert, notary public for Afton, Chenango County, New York, on 27 March 1903. In the affidavit, Beardsley gives a brief description of Mormon activities in Chenango County (cf. IV.D.11, SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY REMINISCENCE, 1898). Beardsley's affidavit and one from Harriet E. Shay were copied by "M. G. Hill,[1] Afton, N.Y. June 23, 1930," who believed he possessed the originals (see also IV.D.15, HARRIET E. SHAY AFFIDAVIT, 27 MAR 1903).

I saw Joseph Smith Jr of Mormon fame in 1830 as he passed my fathers, Seba Beardsleys,[2] place in Coventry[,] Chenango Co.[,] NY. My Father and William Roberts[3] were working on fathers house. I remember dis=stinctly how he looked. I remember of the time when the followers of Smith including Deacon Josiah Stowell went away.[4] It was said they were going to the Promised Land.

Years afterward I heard many who were familiar with incidents of Smith and his followers tell of their strange doings which left the impression

---

1. "M. G. Hill, President of Bank at Afton," was one of the certifiers to the Reed Peck manuscript published by Lu B. Cake in 1899 (Cake 1899, 77).

2. On Seba Beardsley, see IV.D.11, SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY REMINISCENCE, 1898, n. 3.

3. On William Roberts, see IV.D.11, SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY REMINISCENCE, 1898, n. 4.

4. For other accounts of Josiah Stowell leaving for Ohio and then returning, see IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842; IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880; Porter 1971, 208.

on my mind that Joseph Smith, Jr. was a deceiver, and that many of his own kind and many true people were led into Mormonism by his deception.

Miss Sally Ann Beardsley being duly sworn deposes and says that the above is true to the best of her knowl=edge and belief.

Sally Ann Beardsley

Subscribed and sworn to
before me this 27th day
March 1903.

Delos Van Woert[5]
notary public.

5. Delos Van Woert is mentioned in a local history as a member of the Afton Masonic Lodge (J. H. Smith 1880, 151). "Delos Van Woert, Ex-Postmaster, Justice of the Peace," was also one of the certifiers to the Reed Peck manuscript published by Lu B. Cake in 1899 (Cake 1899, 77).

15.
HARRIET E. SHAY AFFIDAVIT, 27 MARCH 1903

Harriet E. Shay, Affidavit, 27 March 1903, Jacob Morris Papers, John M. Olin Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

EDITORIAL NOTE

This item is a handwritten copy of Harriet E. Shay's affidavit sworn before Delos Van Woert, notary public for Afton, Chenango County, New York, on 27 March 1903. In the affidavit, Shay gives a brief description of the Mormon exodus from Colesville, New York. Her affidavit, as well as one by Sally Ann Beardsley, was copied by "M. G. Hill,[1] Afton, N.Y. June 23, 1930," who believed he possessed the originals (see also IV.D.14, SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY AFFIDAVIT, 27 MAR 1903).

I distinctly remember seeing the followers of Joseph Smith, Jr. of Mormon fame go by my fathers, George Clappers[2] house on the east side of the Susquehanna River in the town of Afton[,] County of Chenango, N.Y. between Afton, formerly South Bainbridge, and Nineveh on what is now known as the Lewis Poole farm.[3]

To the best of my recollection there were eight (8) or ten (10) wagons. They were covered like western emigrant wagons, and were drawn by oxen.

One reason I remember so distinctly of the wagons going by is from the fact that my Uncle Cornelius Atherton[4] was engaged to be married to Betsy

---

1. On M. G. Hill, see IV.D.14, SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY AFFIDAVIT, 27 MAR 1903, n. 1.

2. George Clapper, age sixty-one, is listed in the 1850 census of Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York, as a farmer (1850:456).

3. Evidently along the highway south and east of the Susquehanna River on Afton Lot 35 (see map in Nichols 1875, 12-13).

4. Cornelius Atherton, Jr., youngest son of Cornelius and Mary Atherton, was born in South Bainbridge shortly before his father's death in 1809. He later served as Afton's postmaster (1855-56) and town auditor (1880-81) (J. H. Smith 1880, 142, 144).

Peck[5] daughter of Hezekiah Peck[6] who with his wife and Son, Reed Peck,[7] went with the Mormons at that time. Hezekiah Peck forbade the [p. 1] marriage of Betsy and Uncle Cornelius unless he would join the Mormons and go with them; this Uncle Cornelius would not do. That day was made impression to me as I witnessed the sorrow of uncle Cornelius who was at our house when the wagon train went by.

I also remember an incident which occurred about the same time, which later became more familiar to me as I became ac=quainted with the parties. Stephen Pratt,[8] was engaged to be married to a Peck girl, a relative of Hezekiah Peck, I think her given name was Anna. Just before the followers of Smith started they ran away and were married, therefore they did not go with the Mormons.

I knew Reed Peck, son of Hezekiah, well after he deserted the Mormons at Kirtland, Ohio, or Nauvoo. He came back to Afton and spent his days above a village on east side of the river. [p. 2] His place is known as Pecks Mills. He died about three years ago. He was a man highly respected.

Miss Harriet E. Shay being duly sworn deposes and says that the above statement is true to the best of her knowledge and belief.

Harriet E. Shay.

subscribed and sworn to
before me this 27th day
of March 1903

Delos Van Woert[9]
notary Public

---

5. Betsy Peck, daughter of Hezekiah and Martha Long Peck, was born in May 1812, making her nineteen when she and her parents left Colesville (see Hartley 1986, 69; Porter 1971, 301).

6. On Hezekiah Peck (1782-1859), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 132.

7. On Reed Peck (1814-94), son of Hezekiah and Martha (Long) Peck, see IV.D.12, LU B. CAKE ACCOUNTS, 1899 & 1912, n. 13.

8. Perhaps Stephen D. Pratt, who was elected trustee of the South Bainbridge Universalist Church (J. H. Smith 1880, 150).

9. On Delos Van Woert, see IV.D.14, SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY AFFIDAVIT, 27 MAR 1903, n. 5.

16.
NAN HILL ACCOUNT, 1939

1. Nan Hill, "Joe Smith Lived and Married Here," *Afton Enterprise,* 20 July 1939, newspaper clipping, U. Grant Baker Collection, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.
2. Nan Hill, "The Beginning of Mormonism," undated, Oxford Historian's Office, Oxford, New York.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Nan Hill Stratton (1882-1972) was a resident of Oxford, Chenango County, New York. In the Oxford historian's office is a 7-page typescript of her "Beginnings of Mormonism" (undated) that repeats the same information published in her Afton newspaper article, drawing on reminiscences and published information to cover Joseph Smith's activities in Manchester, New York.[1]

[*1. Published Account*]

Among [Joseph] Smith's professed accomplishments was the ability to cast out devils. An eager crowd had gathered on the East side of the [Susquehanna] river below Nineveh, to watch the process of expelling the evil one from Naaman,[2] the son of Joe Knight.[3] As Smith baptized the boy, a small dark object was seen to drop from the candidate's person and disappear in the water; immediately a boy standing near jumped in the river and went in hot pursuit of the "devil". Returning to the shore with his find he displayed to the amused congregation an ordinary black kitten.[4] ...

---

1. My thanks to Mark Ashurst-McGee for alerting me to this document.

2. On Nahum Knight (1796-?), see IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846, n. 3.

3. On Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772-1847), see introduction to IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847.

4. This story is likely apocryphal since the earliest accounts report Joseph Smith's exorcism on Joseph Knight, Sr.'s, son Newel, not Nahum (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 46; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 59-60). See also IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE

A Mr. Wakeman[5] told of one night coming upon Joe Smith and a band of followers back of Scott's tavern at Nineveh. Mr. Wakeman was motioned away byt [by] the men, but concealing himself in the bushes, watched Joe withdraw from the others, then return, saying God had revealed to him that this was enchanted ground. Smith burned a black dog[6] belonging to Deacon Stowell.[7] This was for a sacrifice to appease the wrath of the avenging angel. Mrs. Davenport[8] of Doraville said she repeatedly heard her grandmother tell of Joe Smith coming into her home one day, long after she was married and saying that it had been revealed to him that she was to be his "spiritual wife." She replied with the broom stick and he unceremoniously left the house.[9] ...

Mr. Hale had three daughters and Joe was desirous of marrying the daughter Emma.[10] The paternal consent was flatly refused whereupon an elopement was planned. Joe and Emma went to the home of Josiah Stowell at South Bainbridge. Martha Carpenter,[11] who at that time lived on the Milo Wilcox farm, in a letter to Rev. Oscar Beadsley,[12] told of seeing Rhoda and

---

INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880, which reports that Smith cast a devil out of Joseph Knight, Sr.

5. This person remains unidentified.

6. Emily Austin and Joel K. Nobel mention Smith sacrificing a dog (see IV.D.7, EMILY [COLBURN] AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 33; IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 2).

7. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

8. This person remains unidentified.

9. Of possible relevance to Joseph Smith's early concept of complex marriage is a report from Harmony, Pennsylvania, that he and his scribe Martin Harris said "adultery was no crime" and that as early as 1828 he was already pursuing extramarital relationships (V.A.4, LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834). In June 1829 Smith's dictation would include discussion of adultery versus God-inspired plural marriage (Jacob 2:30). His July 1830 trial in South Bainbridge included testimony accusing him of improper conduct with two of Josiah Stowell's daughters, Miriam and Rhoda (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 45). In 1844, while publicly denying apostate accusations of secret polygamy, he admitted that similar charges on his character had been made as early as 1827. "I had not been married scarcely five minutes, and made one proclamation of the Gospel," Smith recalled, "before it was reported that I had seven wives" (Smith 1948, 6:410).

10. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), who married Joseph Smith on 18 January 1827, see "Introduction to Emma Hale Smith Collection."

11. On Martha Carpenter, see IV.D.12, LU B. CAKE ACCOUNTS, 1899 & 1912, n. 5.

12. On Beardsley, see IV.D.11, SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY REMINISCENCE, 1898, n. 2.

Miriam [Stowell] take the young couple in a sleigh to the ferry (which was just below the Wilcox place) cross on the ice, then go up the east side of the river to the home of Squire Tarbell[13] who married them. ...

[*2. Undated Typescript*]

... Sometime during the year 1825 Joseph Smith began working for Josiah Stowell on a farm at South Bainbridge (this is the farm in Afton at the present time occupied by Earl Shapley).

Many stories were current in the neighborhood of Joe's [p. 2] treasure digging but for a time no one heard of any information about revealed religion. However treasures were sought all the way from Lanesboro to Afton. On the hill west of the village of Afton, on the farms now owned by Mr. Hulbert and Mr. Huber, the writer remembers distinctly, in early childhood, seeing two "pits" made by the eager searchers of hidden wealth.

From the notes of Rev. Oscar Beardsley, a student of local Mormonism, the plates of the Mormon bible Smith claimed to have found near Cornell Creek on the east side of the Susquehanna river at Afton. Later Smith also claimed to have received, on what is now called "Mormon Hill" in the town of Manchester (near Palmyra) and from an angel of the Lord, a set of golden plates, inscribed in the Egyptian language, a new and more recent divine revelation than the Bible.

Different people told of seeing the plates, but would finally confess that they were "wrapped in a cloth." So far as we are able to determine there is no authentic evidence in existence that the so-called "plates" were actually seen.

It was said that the angel from whom they were received again took them into his custody.

Among Smith's professed accomplishments was the ability to cast out devils. An eager crowd had gathered on the east side of the river below Ninevah, to watch the process of expelling the evil [p. 3] one from Naaman, the son of Joe Knight. As Smith baptized the boy a small black object was seen to drop from the candidate's person and disappear in the water: immediately a boy standing near jumped in the river and went in hot pursuit of the "devil." Returning to shore with his find he displayed, to the amused congregation, an ordinary black kitten.

Joe's walking on the water is still a familiar story to residents of this sec-

---

13. Emma Smith said she and Joseph were married at "Squire [Zechariah] Tarbiel's house" (I.F.3, EMMA SMITH BIDAMON INTERVIEW WITH JOSEPH SMITH III, FEB 1879, 1:3).

tion. This was tried at two different places—one supposed to have been Perch or Pickerel Pond, the other on the Susquehanna River near the residence of the faithful Joe Knight. The river episode was the time boys moved the "planks" and Smith fell in, thereupon upbraiding his followers for lack of faith.

A Mr. Wakeman told of one night coming upon Joe Smith and a band of followers back of Scott's tavern at Nineveh. Mr. Wakeman was motioned away by the men, but concealed himself in the bushes, watched Joe withdraw from the others, then return, saying God had revealed to him that this was enchanted ground. Then, to the horror of Mr. Wakeman, Smith burned a black dog belonging to Deacon Stowell. This was for a sacrifice to appease the wrath of the avenging angel. Mrs. Davenport of Doraville said she repeatedly heard her grandmother tell of Joe Smith coming into her home one day, long after she was married, and saying that it had been revealed to him that she was to be his "spiritual wife." She replied with the [p. 4] broom stick and he unceremoniously left the house. ...

While Smith was following his operations in Pennsylvania, for a time he boarded in the family of Isaac Hale of Harmony, who was a highly respected citizen of that community. Mr. Hale had three daughters and Joe was desirous of marrying the daughter Emma. The paternal consent was flatly refused, whereupon an elopement was planned. Joe and Emma went to the home of Josiah Stowell at South Bainbridge. Martha Carpenter, who at that time lived on the Milo Wilcox farm, in a letter to Rev. Oscar Beardsley told of seeing Josiah Stowell Jr. and his sisters Rhoda and Miriam take the young couple in a sleigh to the ferry, (which was just below the Wilcox place) cross on the ice, then go up the east side of the river to the home of Squire Tarbell who married them. ...

17.
ISAAC DEMILL STATEMENT, 1857

Isaac DeMill to Brother and Sister, 26 November 1857, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Isaac DeMill (Saline, Michigan?) wrote on 26 November 1857 to his Mormon siblings, brother Freeborn and a sister living in Manti, Utah, to criticize their religious beliefs. While dealing mostly with polygamy, Isaac also mentioned stories he had heard that Joseph Smith had predicted the sinking of Seneca Lake and that he had practiced hypnosis in Broome County. In an unsigned letter, probably written by Freeborn, dated 29 June 1858, the DeMills of Manti acknowledged the existence of such stories but dismissed them as false, explaining:

> As for Joseph Smith being a prophet, it is no difference whether you believe it or not; we have heard the same stories you tell about and a great many more about as foolish, years ago. We were acquainted with Joseph in Broom County, before and after he got the plates, and knew all about it. ...[1]

Bro & Sister

... As for Joseph Smith being a prophet I cannot say he was not but he prophecied that it would be sunk all around seneca Lake [p. 3] years and years ago, and it is not sunk yet.[2] So that was a false prophecy, and he pretended that he could raise the dead to life, but he never raised one that was dead, no never! He magnetized a girl I think it was in onondaga County[,] New York State, he pretended she was dead, but she told a person that she was concious all the time. The art of magnetizing was not generally known then as it is

---

1. LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

2. Cf. Rebecca Nurse's claim that Smith predicted Nineveh in Broome County would sink (see IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880; IV.D.6. FREDERICK G. MATHER INTERVIEWS WITH RESIDENTS OF BROOME AND CHENANGO COUNTIES [NY], JUL 1880).

now, and he used it to a good advantage. He learned the art of a German Pedler; he performed a good many things with it in Broom County. [p. 4]

[s] Isaac Demill
Lovina Demill

E.
Miscellaneous
Non-Resident
SOURCES

1.
BRATTLEBORO' (VT) *MESSENGER,* 20 NOVEMBER 1830

Letter to the editor, *Brattleboro'* (VT) *Messenger,* 20 November 1830.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The present letter was written by "Clericus," perhaps indicating authorship by a minister of some denomination. The anonymous correspondent included an extract from another letter, dated 18 October 1830, evidently written by someone living in the area of Colesville, New York.

Mr. Editor.—I have gotten some additional information respecting the Book of Mormon, which I send you for insertion in your paper, if you see fit. It is contained in an extract, which I have just taken from a letter written from a town in the State of New York [Colesville?], where, as I had been previously told, this Jos. Smith had resided some years, and from which he set out, with an attendant, in pursuit of the gold plates, which he found, as they say, about one hundred and fifty miles from the place of starting. The letter is dated Oct. 18th, 1830, and the extract is as follows:

"You have probably heard of the Gold Bible taken from the earth by Joseph, the money-digger. This he has translated from the Egyptian reformed language to English, by a pair of stone spectacles (provided by an angel) and a dark hat before his eyes. The books have been printed, and J.S. [Josiah Stowell?][1] and Mr. N—s [Joseph Knight(s), Sr.?][2] are engaged in peddling the same. The society are increasing. Eighteen have been baptized in a day.[3] H.P. [Hezekiah Peck?][4] and wife have been baptized, & are very strong

---

1. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

2. On Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772-1847), see introduction to IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847.

3. Probably a reference to the baptisms of 28 June 1830 at Colesville. Smith's history names thirteen people baptized (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 43). Sally Knight should perhaps also be added to the list (see IV.E.3, SALLY KNIGHT OBITUARY, 1834; Porter 1971, 202-203).

4. On Hezekiah Peck (1782-1859), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 132.

in the faith. The girls are under conviction. The leaders pretend to cast out devils and work miracles, heal the sick, &c. We have seen none of their miracles here, except N.N. [Newel Knight][5] I heard say in meeting, that he had the devil cast out."[6]

I just add, that I have been almost in contact with these peddlers in different parts of this county, having my information from them only through most credible second hand informers, who state that they said, they know the book, and the manner in which it is said to have been found, was true; or that they did not believe it, but *know* it. They are said to be respectable men. The wife of one of them, though immersed formerly by an Elder in this county, has been immersed or baptized again into this new system. I only state facts, and leave the judicious and pious to their own reflections.

CLERICUS.

5. On Newel Knight (1800-47), see introduction to IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846.

6. See I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 39-41; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 49-50; IV.D.13, HARVEY BAKER REMINISCENCE, 1900.

2.
SIDNEY RIGDON INTERVIEW WITH OHIO RESIDENTS, FEBRUARY 1831

Painesville Telegraph, 15 February 1831, 1. Reprinted in E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed [sic]: Or, A Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, OH: E. D. Howe, 1834), 112-13.

EDITORIAL NOTE

After his baptism in Mentor, Ohio, probably on 8 November 1830, Sidney Rigdon,[1] with Edward Partridge, went to New York to meet the Mormon prophet. They arrived in Fayette, Seneca County, on or shortly before 7 December, the day on which Smith dictated a revelation for Rigdon (Doctrine and Covenants 35; hereafter D&C). Soon after, Smith and Rigdon visited Colesville, Broome County, New York, where Rigdon preached in Joseph Knight's barn. After several days, the two men visited Harmony, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, so that Smith could settle some business there. When Smith and Rigdon were prevented by enemies from returning to Colesville, they moved on to Canandaigua, Ontario County, New York, where Smith dictated a revelation directing him to discontinue work on his revision of the Bible until his removal to New York (D&C 37). While in this area, Smith preached in Ezra Thayre's barn and Rigdon preached in the courthouse. At Palmyra, Rigdon preached in the hall of the Young Men's Association. By 2 January 1831, the two had completed their tour of the centers of church activity and returned to Fayette to attend a conference, during which Smith dictated a revelation instructing the church to move to Ohio. On 24 January, Rigdon departed Fayette by stage, while Smith and his wife, together with Partridge, started for Ohio, probably on 27 January.

Rigdon evidently arrived at Kirtland, Ohio, three days before Smith's arrival. Naturally, the townspeople were curious about their former minister's investigations in New York. The following excerpt is an account of an interview with Rigdon shortly after his arrival in Kirtland. Howe does not name the source of his information, but gives the following brief introduction: "On return of Rigdon [from New York], many of his friends called

1. On Sidney Rigdon (1793-1876), see I.A.13, SIDNEY RIGDON ACCOUNT, CIRCA 1836.

upon him to enquire about his new faith. The particulars of one of these interviews, we have on record by an eyewitness, which we shall give in his own words, with his remarks thereon" (Howe 1834, p. 112). The account pertains mostly to Rigdon's inquiries in the Colesville area regarding Smith's character.[2]

Feb. 1, 1831.—Mr. Rigdon just returned from the state of New York. ... [p. 112] Two days after, I accompanied several friends to Mr. R[igdon].'s residence, and found him in conversation with a Methodist elder. That being soon broken off, one of my friends modestly approached Mr. R[igdon]. and solicited him to give some reason for his present faith. Mr. R[igdon]., with great show of good nature, commenced a lang [long] detail of his researches after the character of Joseph Smith, he declared that even his enemies had nothing to say against his character; he had brought a transcript from the dockets of two magistrates, where Smith had been tried as a disturber of the peace, which testified that he was honorably acquitted.[3] But this was no evidence to us that the Book of Mormon was divine. He then spoke of the supernatural gifts with which he said Smith was endowed; he said he could translate the scriptures from any language in which they were now extant,[4] and could lay his finger upon every interpolation in the sacred writings, adding that he had proven him in all these things. But my friend knowing that Mr. Rigdon had no knowledge of any language but his own vernacular tongue, asked him how he knew these things, to which Mr. R[igdon]. made no direct reply. ...

M.S.C.

---

2. For other sources dealing with Rigdon's visit to the Colesville area, see IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 8-9; IV.D.7, EMILY [COLBURN] AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 37-38; IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEW WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

3. This evidently refers to Joseph Smith's trials conducted in July 1830 in South Bainbridge and Colesville.

4. Rigdon's remark that Smith could translate any language was corrected by Smith himself. As Howe reports: "Mr. Smith arrived at Kirtland the next day, and being examined concerning his supernatural gifts, by a scholar, who was capable of testing his knowledge, he confessed he knew nothing of any language, save the king's English" (Howe 1834, 113).

3.
SALLY KNIGHT OBITUARY, 1834

Sally Knight Obituary, *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (October 1834): 12-13.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The following is Oliver Cowdery's obituary for Sally Knight,[1] who died on 15 September 1834 in Turnham's Landing, Clay County, Missouri. It includes some reflections on the early scenes in Colesville, New York.

... In Clay county, Missouri, Sep. 15th. sister SALLY, wife of brother *Newel Knight*.[2] Sister Knight was one of the first who embraced this gospel, in this day, and was baptized by our own hand on the 29th of June, 1830,[3] in Colesville, Broome county, N.Y. These were days of trial to those who stepped forward in opposition to the popular theories of the age to embrace a system spoken against in every place where it was proclaimed; and on this occasion, feelings and anxieties indescribable possessed the heart of every faithful servant and well-wisher of the kingdom of Christ. We well remember that the world were opposed to this doctrine; that many threats were made that violence should be resorted to if any one attempted to immerse a citizen of the place, and that at the time of attending to this solemn ordinance many began to assemble with insinuations and low indecorous language.[4] But this was not a time to trifle with sacred things: this world, with its threats or flatteries was looked upon with equal feelings of disdain, and this our sister, with twelve others, bade a final farewell to the vanities of this generation, for a promise of inheritance with the sanctified.

When we consider her worth as a mother and companion, it is with no

---

1. On Sarah ("Sally") Colburn Knight (1804-34), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 164.

2. On Newel Knight (1800-47), see introduction to IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846.

3. Larry C. Porter believes that she was probably baptized on 28 June along with other members of the Knight family (Porter 1971, 202-203). It is possible that the other baptisms occurred on the 29th or that there were two days of baptisms since Smith was not arrested until 30 June.

4. Enemies in the Colesville area tore down the dam to prevent baptisms from taking place (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 43-44).

ordinary feeling that we fulfil this our last office in recording her decease, & noticing in a short account her circumspect walk in the church of the saints.

Coming into the church at the time of its first organization, it was her lot to pass through scenes the most trying to her nature. Forsaken and derided by the most of her relatives for her religion's sake, and called to accompany her husband to the far west [with] the [p. 12] first branch of the church which emigrated to that country, nothing short of an unshaken confidence in the kind interposition of Providence could have beeen [been] sufficient to encourage her to move forward. But this, we are prepared to say, she endured without a murmur. ...

4.
HAMILTON CHILD ACCOUNT, 1869

Hamilton Child (1836-?), *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Chenango County, N.Y., for 1869-70* (Syracuse, New York: Journal Office, 1869), 82-83.

... Joe Smith, the founder of Mormonism, operated quite extensively in this town [South Bainbridge, now Afton] and vicinity during the early years of his career as a prophet ... somewhere about 1828 or 1829 Smith made his appearance in Afton and attended school in District No. 9.[1] Here his supernatural powers manifested themselves by telling fortunes or "foretelling futurity." This was done by placing a stone in his hat and then looking into it drawn over his face so as to exclude the light.

He first organized a society at the house of Joe Knight, on the south side of the river, near the Lobdell House, in Broome County.[2] Excavations were made in various places for treasures, and rocks containing iron pyrites were drilled for gold. Previous to digging in any place a sheep was killed and the blood sprinkled upon the spot.[3] Lot 62 was the seat of one of these mining operations.[4] To convince the unbelievers that he did possess supernatural

---

1. Smith was in Harmony, Pennsylvania, in 1828 and 1829. Josiah Stowell, Jr., said he went to school with Smith "one winter" when Smith was "about 20 years old or there about" (IV.B.1, JOSIAH STOWELL, JR., TO JOHN S. FULLMER, 17 FEB 1843). This most likely occurred in the winter of 1825-26. The Stowells lived in school district 9, as indicated in old township maps (e.g., Nichols 1875, 12-13).

2. Several members of the Knight family and others were baptized in Colesville on 28 June 1830 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 43). The "G Lobdell" house was situated a few miles north of Joseph Knight's residence, as shown on old township maps (*Plat Book of Broome County,* 1908, 36-37).

3. Purple mentioned Smith's sacrificing a sheep (IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 29 APR 1877). Other sources from the area mention a dog (see IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842; and IV.D.7, EMILY [COLBURN] AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 32-33).

4. Lot 62 is situated immediately east of Bettsburg, Chenango County,

powers he announced that he would walk upon the water. The performance was to take place in the evening, and to the astonishment of unbelievers, he did walk upon the water where it was known to be several feet deep, only sinking a few inches below the surface. This proving a success, a second trial was announced which bid fair to be as successful as the first, but when he had proceeded some distance into the river he suddenly went down, greatly to the disgust of himself and proselytes, but to the great amusement of the unbelievers. It appeared on examination that plank[s] were laid in the river a few inches below the surface, and some wicked boys had removed a plank which caused the prophet to go down like any other mortal.[5]

After pretending to heal the sick, cast out devils,[6] &c, he gained quite a number of followers, but at length came to grief by being prosecuted as an impostor.[7] He was tried before Joseph P. Chamberlain, a Justice of the Peace.[8] Two pettifoggers by the name of John S. Reed[9] and James Davison [Davidson][10] volunteered to defend him.[11] Three witnesses were examined on the occasion, all of whom testified that they had seen him cast out devils. They saw "a devil as large as a woodchuck leave the man and run across the floor." One of them saw a devil leave the man and "run off like a yellow

---

New York. Smith Baker and Harvey Baker claimed that Joseph Smith dug on this lot (see IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880; and IV.D.13, HARVEY BAKER REMINISCENCE, 1900).

5. See IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880, n. 28.

6. Probably a reference to casting the devil out of Newel Knight (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 39-41; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 49-50).

7. See IV.C.4, CYRUS SMALLING TO DEAR SIR, 10 MAR 1841, n. 1.

8. He appeared before Justice Joseph Chamberlin of South Bainbridge on 1 July 1830 (see IV.F.4, JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JUL 1830).

9. On John Reed (1784-1878), see introduction to IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844.

10. On James Davidson (1779-1847), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 146.

11. See IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844; and IV.D.1, JOHN S. REED TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, 6 DEC 1861.

dog."[12] These witnesses were Mr. Knight[13] and son, and Mr. Stowell, all of whom subsequently went west with Smith.[14]

Preston T. Wilkins,[15] of Ashtabula County, Ohio, lived in Broome County, near the line of Afton, at the time of the Mormon excitement, and while on a visit to a Mormon family, learned that there was a chest of Mormon Bibles in the barn, that it was guarded by an angel, and that it would be utterly impossible for any one to steal one of them. Mr. W[ilkins]. prepared a key that would unlock the chest, and taking one of their Bibles carried it home in the evening and placed it over the front door so that it would fall into the house on opening the door. The result was what he anticipated and the Mormons declared that an angel had brought the book and of course Mr. W[ilkins]. and his wife would become converts at once. The Mormons had been laboring for some time to convert Mrs. W[ilkins]. and had caused her much anxiety and her husband considerable trouble, which he wished to end. They would never acknowledge that one of their books was missing. Sometime afterwards Mr. W[ilkins]. explained the miracle of the Bible and informed the Mormons that they must keep from his house as he would no longer listen to their impositions. About 1831 most of them went west where the saints had been commanded to assemble. ...

---

12. According to A. W. Benton, Newel Knight testified that Smith cast a devil out of him but that he "could not tell how it looked" (IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831). Perhaps the woodchuck and yellow dog descriptions came from Joseph Knight and Josiah Stowell, mentioned by Child.

13. While Joseph Knight did not mention his participation in the 1830 court examinations, A. W. Benton said that Knight testified (IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831).

14. Josiah Stowell evidently went west with the Mormons but soon after returned (see IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 2; IV.E.3, SALLY ANN BEARDSLEY AFFIDAVIT, 27 MAR 1903; and IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880; see also Porter 1971, 208).

15. Preston T. Wilkins (c. 1801-?), a blacksmith, appears in the 1830 census of Colesville. In 1850 Wilkins was listed with wife and seven children in Andover, Ashtabula County, Ohio.

5.
S. S. RANDALL ACCOUNT, 1874

S. S. Randall, "Historical, and Personal Reminiscences of Chenango-County, New York," *Historical Magazine* 3 (February 1874): 92-93.

EDITORIAL NOTE

S. S. Randall, a lawyer and one-time superintendent of the public schools of New York City, published a series of articles about the history of Chenango County, New York. His account is partly based on Hamilton Child's *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Chenango County, N.Y., for 1869-70* (Syracuse, New York: Journal Office, 1869), 82-83 (see VI.E.4, HAMILTON CHILD ACCOUNT, 1869).

... This promising little section of the great original "Jericho"[1]—"born out of due time," and ever hereafter to be "known and distinguished" by the most mellifluous of all cognomens—was favored, some forty years ago, in 1828 or '29, by the presence and pervading influence of the great founder and original discoverer of the Mormon dispensation—Joe Smith—who, according to the *Gazetteer and Directory,* at about this time, "made his appearance in Afton, and *attended school* in District No. 9," at the ripe age of *twenty-four or five.*[2] He, however, "attended," in the capacity of a prophet, in the chrysalis state, with wings not yet fullfledged; "walked the waters like a thing of life, daring the very elements to strife," so long as the underlying "plank" was not wickedly displaced by the "wicked boys;" and, finally, having, through this mischance, fallen into the water and "gone down like any other mortal"—having subsequently essayed, with what success does not appear, to "heal the sick, cast out devils," and many other miraculous feats, the great founder of Mormonism was ignominiously hauled before the judgment-seat of Joseph P. Chamberlin, Esq.,[3] then in the commission of the

---

1. Jericho was changed to Bainbridge in 1814 and South Bainbridge was later changed to Afton.

2. Randall follows Child's error in dating Smith's school attendance to 1828 or 1829. Most likely it was in the winter of 1825-1826 (see IV.E.4, HAMILTON CHILD ACCOUNT, 1869, n. 1).

3. On Joseph Chamberlin, see introduction to IV.F.4, JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JUL 1830.

peace—afterwards Sheriff of Chenango, member of the State Legislature, in 1804, etc., etc.,—*as an impostor!* "Two *pettifoggers,* by the name of John S. Reed[4] and James Davison [Davidson],[5] volunteered to defend him. Three witnesses testified that they had seen him cast out devils. One devil 'as large as a woodchuck,' left the man, and run across 'the floor.' Another 'run off, like a yellow dog.' In the face of such testimony, what but an acquittal must have resulted?[6] Mr. [Joseph] Knight,[7] his son [Newel],[8] and Mr. [Josiah] Stowell[9]—these three unexceptionable witnesses—followed the future [p. 92] prophet to his glory in the West—not unaccompanied, we may be sure, by the 'woodchuck' and 'yellow dog,' as well as by the Mormon Bibles, under lock and key, guarded by an angel,"[10] which fell, with a loud crash, into the door of Mr. and Mrs. Preston T. Wilkins,[11] of Ashtabula-county, Ohio, living at this time, in Broome-county, just across the line—impelled thereto, as we are credibly assured, by honest Preston, himself, who, having been worried and badgered within an inch of his life, by his "hagging" help-mate, whom these Mormon pioneers were endeavoring to convert, manufactured a key, opened the angelically guarded chest, took therefrom a Bible, and placed it in such a shaky position, on or about the door of the domicile, that, on opening that piece of furniture, the catastrophe must needs occur! What effect this miracle had upon the devoutly-inclined Mrs. Wilkins, is left to conjecture; we only know that Wilkins forbade the brethren of the Mormon persuasion, from all future visitations of his house; but whether Mrs. W[ilkins]. "went West where the Saints had been commanded to assemble," must ever remain an inscrutable mystery.[12] ...

---

4. On John Reed (1784-1878), see introduction to IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844.

5. On James Davidson (1779-1847), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 146.

6. Although obviously influenced by Hamilton Child's account, Randall's source goes beyond Child by mentioning that Smith was acquitted in 1830.

7. On Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772-1847), see introduction to IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847.

8. On Newel Knight (1800-47), see introduction to IV.A.2, NEWEL KNIGHT JOURNAL, CIRCA 1846.

9. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

10. The source of Randall's quote is unknown.

11. On Preston T. Wilkins (ca. 1801-?), see IV.E.4, HAMILTON CHILD ACCOUNT, 1869, n. 15.

12. Mrs. Wilkins is apparently listed with her husband, Preston T. Wilkins, in the 1850 census of Andover, Ashtabula County, Ohio. I have been unable to locate evidence that she was baptized.

6.
JAMES H. SMITH ACCOUNT, 1880

James H. Smith, *History of Chenango and Madison Counties, New York* (Syracuse, New York: D. Mason & Co., 1880), 153-55.

EDITORIAL NOTE

James Haden Smith was present at the founding meeting of Norwich, Chenango County, New York, and was the first director of Norwich National Bank (J. H. Smith 1880, 322, 335). His 1880 *History of Chenango and Madison Counties* includes an account of Mormonism in the area, mostly taken from IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 1877.

MORMONISM.—It is a fact worthy of note that a portion of the early career of Joseph Smith, Jr., the author of Mormonism, was spent in Afton [formerly South Bainbridge], and that here were enacted some of the incidents which were precursors of his subsequent notoriety.

Joseph Smith, Jr., was born in Sharon, Windsor Co., Vt., Dec. 23, 1805, and in 1815 or '16 removed with his father, Joseph Sr., and his family, to Palmyra,[1] and soon after just across the line of that town into Manchester, some two miles south-west of Palmyra village.[2] Previous to the Mormon dispensation Joseph Smith, the father of the "prophet," supported himself and family by digging and peddling "rutes and yarbs," selling cakes, beer, etc.[3] When a mere lad, as appears from evidence elicited in his examination before a court of justice in Afton, in 1826, Joseph, Jr., became acquainted with a girl in the neighborhood of his home who was reputed to be able to see in a glass things which were hidden from others. He had frequent opportunity to look into this mystical glass, which always revealed to him a small luminous stone, situated, apparently, beneath the root of a tree, standing near a small stream which empties into Lake Erie not far from the New York and Pennsylvania line. This singular circumstance occupied his mind for some years, and he subsequently made a journey to the locality indicated and procured the trea-

---

1. Joseph Smith, Sr., moved to Palmyra in the summer or fall of 1816, and the rest of the family followed in the winter of 1816-17.

2. See III.L.4, SMITH MANCHESTER (NY) LAND RECORDS, 1820-1830.

3. See III.J.8, POMEROY TUCKER ACCOUNT, 1867, 11-14.

sure thus revealed to him. The stone in question was exhibited on his examination and is described as being "about the size of a small hen's egg, in the shape of a high-instepped shoe." It was composed of layers of different colors passing diagonally through, and was very hard and smooth.[4] By means of this stone, placed in his hat so as to exclude the light, he claimed to be able to see whatever he wished, even in the depths of the earth, and there were not wanting those whose testimony corroborated this affirmation. In 1819 or '20 the Smiths commenced digging for money and other hidden treasure for a subsistence. Their vocation was noised around among the community, and not a few were credulous enough to believe that they were within reach of a "chest of gold," "which had reportedly eluded their grasp," and contributed money to enable them to continue their excavations. The Smiths, it is said, used the money thus obtained for the support of the family, and in the meantime kept their friends in a feverish state of excitement and expectancy while treasure hunting. Invocations, the blood of sheep slaughtered for the purpose, sprinkled upon the earth, and other mystical rites, were employed in the presumed effort to propitiate the angry demon who was supposed to guard the coveted treasure.

During the progress of these events in the obscure town of Manchester, Isaiah Stowel [Josiah Stowell],[5] a Vermont sufferer, and an early settler on the Susquehanna in this town, about two miles below Afton; a deacon in the First Presbyterian church of Afton, educated in the spirit of orthodox puritanism; a man of much force of character, possessing an indomitable will; a very industrious and exemplary man, who, by severe labor and frugality, had acquired property which "excited the envy of many of his less fortunate neighbors;" and who at this time had "grown up sons and daughters to share his prosperity and the honors of his name," became infatuated with the idea that he must go in search of hidden treasures, which he believed were buried in the earth. With hired help and provisions he repaired to the vicinity of Lanesboro, in Northern Pennsylvania, where for weeks at a time he encamped on the bleak hills of that region and prosecuted his search for hidden treasure, heedless of the admonition of his neighbors, the members of the church, and the importunities of his family. Rumors of the success of the Smiths in discovering concealed treasure reached [p. 153] his ears and fanned into a blaze his cherished hallucination. With his wagon filled with provi-

---

4. A footnote in the original reads: "Dr. W. D. Purple's *Historical Reminiscences of the Town of Afton,* 1877." See IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877.

5. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

sions he started in search of the youth, whose mysterious powers would, he fully believed, make him the possessor of untold wealth. He arrived in due time at the rude log cabin of the Smiths, who were living in squalor and poverty, and the object of his search, with his mystic stone, was soon transferred to his more pretentious mansion.

Mr. Stowel with his ward and two hired men, who were, or professed to be, believers, spent much time in excavating near the State line on the Susquehanna and many other places, among them his own farm. Rocks containing iron pyrites were drilled for gold.

In February, 1826,[6] the sons of Mr. Stowel then residing with their father, seeing that the latter was squandering his property in search of hidden wealth under the direction of the youthful seer, caused the arrest of Smith, who was tried in that month before Albert Neeley, Esq., father of Bishop Neeley, of Maine. The trial was largely attended and the proceedings attracted much attention, though they elicited little but his history from his early boyhood. The witnesses examined besides Smith, were his father, Deacon Isaiah Stowel [Josiah Stowell], and a Mr. [Jonathan] Thompson, an employé of Stowel's who always attended the deacon and Smith in their nocturnal labors.

Smith, while here, attended school in District No. 9. He gathered around him a few who were profoundly impressed with the reality of his supernatural powers, and these, (some of whom afterwards joined him in the west, Stowel among the number,) he formed into a society at the house of "Joe Knight," on the south side of the river, near the Lobdell House in Broome county. It is related that in order to convince unbelievers that he possessed supernatural powers, he announced that he would walk upon the water. The performance took place in the evening, and to the astonishment of many, he did walk upon the water, where it was known to be several feet deep, sinking only a few inches below the surface. This proving a success, a second trial was made which bid fair to be as successful as the first; but when he had proceeded some distance into the river, he suddenly sank, much to the chagrin of himself and proselytes, but to the great amusement of the unbelievers. It appeared on examination that planks were laid a few inches below the surface of the water, and that some *wicked* boys, being actuated by a greater desire for fun than to promote the prophet's fame, had removed one of them. Smith also pretended to heal the sick, cast out devils, etc., but his ca-

---

6. Actually March 1826. The incorrect date and account of the court hearing in South Bainbridge are taken from IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877.

reer here was terminated by his prosecution as an imposter before Joseph P. Chamberlain, Esq. Two pettifoggers named John S. Reed and James Davison volunteered to defend him, and three witnesses, Mr. Knight and his son [Newel Knight] and Mr. Stowel, testified that they had seen him cast out devils.[7]

...[8] Smith repaired at night to a cave in the hillside, and dictated to his amanuensis, Oliver Cowdery, what he "mysteriously translated from golden plates," which he pretended to have found while digging for money in September, 1823, by the aid of spirit revelation, but was not permitted to take them from the earth until 1827, about the time the Bible was commenced. The greatest secrecy was observed during these pretended revelations, which were only given in the cave at night, without any light, no one else but he being able to read the inscription on the plates. When it was completed, they were in a quandary as to how to get it printed. This obstacle was soon removed, however, by Martin Harris, a convert, mortgaging his farm to defray the expenses, ruining himself in doing so. Application was made about June, 1829, to Mr. Egbert B. Grandin, the publisher of the *Wayne Sentinel* at Palmyra, for the printing of the book. Grandin at once advised them against the folly of the enterprise. All importunity, however, was resisted by Harris, and resented with assumed pious indignation by Smith. Upon the refusal of Grandin, application was made the same year to Mr. [Thurlow] Weed, of the *Anti-Masonic Inquirer,* at Rochester, who likewise refused. They again applied to Grandin, who, seeing their determina[p. 154]tion, consented to print it, stipulating to print 5,000 copies of the book for a compensation of $3,000.[9]

From such insignificant seed sprang the giant evil, which for fifty years, on the soil of a distant Territory, has subverted all principles of law and order, built a mighty hierarchy of falsehood and licentiousness, and has thus far thwarted nearly every effort made to suppress it.

---

7. This paragraph is taken from IV.E.4, HAMILTON CHILD ACCOUNT, 1869.

8. Discussion of the Spaulding theory of the Book of Mormon's origin has been deleted.

9. Cf. III.J.8, POMEROY TUCKER ACCOUNT, 1867, 50-53.

7.
HENRY P. SMITH ACCOUNT, 1885

H[enry]. P[erry]. Smith (1839-1925), *History of Broome County* (Syracuse, New York: D. Mason and Co., 1885), 332.

It is interesting to note that this town [Colesville] can truthfully boast (?) of being the field where the redoubtable Joe Smith, leader and promulgator of the Mormon faith in its infancy, first began his ministrations to a benighted world. Joe Smith came from Vermont to this vicinity when a boy and attended school here.[1] His particular field of work, after he came back here as saintly prophet, was a little east of Nineveh, near where Joseph Knight had a carding-mill, about two miles above Center Village. Knight was among the early converts to the new religion and went away with the sanctified. A number of other residents of the town went, some of whom subsequently returned, wiser and with less money. Smith had his twelve apostles and his inscribed plates, with which he sought to inspire the inhabitants. Of course the whole gang lived on their converts. These early Mormons became impressed with the idea that there was salt in the neighborhood, and spent a good deal of prophetic muscle in digging for it on the farm of George Collington.[2] Mr. Collington relates that, on a particular evening, Joe Smith announced that he would give a practical exemplification of the power of faith and of his semi-divine character, by walking on the water of the river. A dock of plank was laid out into the water from which he was to start. The time came and he started across the dock towards the edge, when all at once down he went out of sight in the tide. Some boys had removed a

---

1. H. P. Smith reflects the false belief of some residents that the Smiths once lived in Broome County prior to locating in Palmyra, New York (see IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 1877, n. 4).

2. At the time of digging, according to Collington, the land was owned by Bostwich Badger (see IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880; and IV.D.6, FREDERICK G. MATHER INTERVIEWS WITH RESIDENTS OF BROOME AND CHENANGO COUNTIES [NY], JUL 1880).

plank from the dock. If Mr. Collington knows who did the deed, he declines to tell; but he smiles.[3] ...

3. The historian apparently consulted Collington, as indicated by the personal note, "he smiles," as well as by naming Collington as his source for other information (H. P. Smith 1885, 327). Regarding the claim that Joseph Smith attempted to walk on water in Colesville, see IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880, n. 28.

8.
BAINBRIDGE (NY) *ENTERPRISE*, 16 AUGUST 1888

"Impressions of the Work and Teachings of Joseph Smith, the Morman [*sic*], at Nineveh," *Bainbridge* (NY) *Enterprise,* 16 August 1888.

EDITORIAL NOTE

This issue of the *Enterprise* is missing from the files of the Guernsey Memorial Library at Norwich, New York, but a clipping is found in the Jacob Morris Papers, John M. Olin Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. This source includes an account of Joseph Smith's activities in Colesville, evidently from the point of view of an outsider.

From the station at Harpursville [Broome County, New York], on the A. & S. R[ail]. R[oad]., if you look southeast, your eyes will rest upon the beautiful valley of the Susquehanna river. ... Around the lake and along this valley, is the locality of the early operations of the Mormons, under the leadership of Joseph Smith. Here, indeed, he first preached to a benighted people, and expounded the doctrines of his new revelations. The twelve apostles were ordained for their work, and the various miracles which were performed by the Arch-Mormon were here performed in the presence of witnesses, some of whom are still living. A short walk from the station will bring you into the little village of Nineveh [Broome County], which in Smith's time was 14 miles south of Jericho [later (North) Bainbridge]. ... Just opposite of Nineveh, on the east side of the river, on what is now known as the Scott, or Henry P. Bush[1] farm, in a little, old gray, frame house lived a poor man named [Joseph] Knight[2] who worked hard to sustain his little family. At the outlet of Pickerel Lake, on this farm, Knight had a carding mill, the dam trenches and raceways being still visible. In this mill Knight toiled from day to day to eke out the scanty supply for his little ones. Some distance west of the carding mill on a slight rise of ground, stands an old barn, in which Smith later preached to his disciples, giving forth his doctrines and revealing the

---

1. Henry P. Bush, age 42, is listed in the 1860 census of Colesville, Broome County, New York, as a Pennsylvania-born farmer (1860:717).

2. On Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772-1847), see introduction to IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847.

new truth. One pleasant summer evening while the Knight family was enjoying the cool shade of their happy home, father and mother resting their weary limbs and watching the happy, gleeful children playing at their hearth stone, the curiosity of the family was aroused by a stranger on horseback turning in from the main highway toward their dwelling. He was tall, dark, imposing, and impudent. He had only to ask shelter and lodging of the family and the custom and hospitality of the times gave him a night's entertainment. After the horse was cared for and the family was all seated around the table to listen to the stories of the stranger, [Joseph] Smith commenced a tale of his life and revelations.[3] He told Knight how he was born in Vermont in a small town called Sharon, in the year 1805, and lived with his father until he was 15 years of age. That his father was a farmer in Ontario County, N.Y., and while he was on the farm he began to have visions. That one night in September, 1823, the Angel Moroni appeared to him three times, informing him that God had a work for him to do, and that a record written upon gold plates, giving an account of the ancient inhabitants of America and the dealings of God with them, was deposited in a particular place in the earth in a hill in Manchester, Ontario Co., N.Y., and with the record were two transparent stones in silver bows, like spectacles, which were anciently called Urim and Thummim. On looking through which the golden plates would become intelligible, and also gave him a prophetical vision whereby he could foretell events, determine the location of lost treasure, or find out rich mines of silver or gold. The last words fairly raised Knight's hair as visions of gold, splendor and riches passed across the poor man's imagination, while Smith cunningly observed their effect. The whole family were mesmerized by these ideals and delighted with curiosity when he drew the silver bows with the transparent stones, from the case he took from his pocket in which they were carefully kept.

Smith again continued to tell how on Sept. 22nd, 1827, the angel of the Lord placed in his hands the Urim and the Thummim. The plates, he said, were nearly 8 inches long by 7 inches wide, and a little thinner than ordinary tin, and were bound together by three rings running through the whole. Altogether they were about 6 inches thick and were neatly engraved on each side with hieroglyphics, a language called the reformed Egyptian, not then known on the earth. No person would be allowed to see these plates, as no

---

3. This account of Joseph Knight's first encounter with Joseph Smith is purely fiction. The author presents Smith, a "tall, dark, imposing ... stranger," as meeting Knight for the first time after the translation of the Book of Mormon, but it is clear that they met as early as the fall of 1826 (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 2).

person could look at them and live. He had a large roll of paper rolled up in a valise which he carried with him, which he claimed to Knight was a translation from these plates and constituted the revelation. He farther showed this manuscript to Knight, which he claimed was translated by himself by looking through the Urim and Thummim while he sat behind a blanket hung across a room in order that the sacred records might be kept from profane eyes, and read off the "Book of Mormon," or Golden Bible as he sometimes called it, to Oliver Cowdery[4] who wrote it down. He showed the certificate to Knight, which was attached, and read it to him as follows. ...[5]

After reading this off to Knight[,] Smith saw he had made a convert to his new religion. He took up the silver bows and looked in them steadily for a few minutes when he says: "Lo! I see feathers! I see feathers, a stump, a fence, a field. Yes, indeed, between this and Jericho is a stump covered with feathers, at the south east side of which is a pot of gold. Perhaps the treasure was buried there by Captain Kidd."[6] Knight was now on his mettle, his chance which is the "tide in the affairs of men" had come. Riches were near. "Kings may be blessed but Knight was glorious o'er all the ills of life victorious."

Well, Smith and Knight arranged to get a neighbor or two and go up there and get the treasure on the following morning. Little sleep was found in that house the remainder of that night and in the morning Knight had his men with shovels, picks and bars ready for the crusade. Before leaving Smith gave his charge to all the men, that not a word must be spoken while they were digging nor within 10 rods of the place where the treasure was, else it would vanish. They went toward Jericho, and when about three fourths of the way along Smith stopped his horse and said to the men, "This looks like the place." Knight climbed up on the fence and looking off toward the woods said, "I see a stump with feathers on it." Smith then told him "This is the place."

They dug around the stump all that day but found no treasure to satisfy their craving natures, but went home tired and jaded. The following morning they returned to the toil when about noon one of the men struck his pick on something hard that gave a sound like the lid of a pot. Without consideration he said "I have struck it," when Smith exclaimed: "Fool! thou art, the pot of gold was there but thy voice hath caused it to vanish." And so as Smith

---

4. On Oliver Cowdery (1806-50), see "Introduction to Oliver Cowdery Collection."

5. Then follows the Testimony of Three Witnesses (see III.G.1, TESTIMONY OF THREE WITNESSES, JUN 1829).

6. Cf. a similar story told by Josiah Stowell in IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE (NY) COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826.

said no gold or pot was found and the men returned home to reflect, not on the impossibility of gold not being there, but upon the foolishness of the neighbor.[7]

7. The clipping indicates that the article was to be continued, but the incomplete files of the *Enterprise* prevent locating further installments.

9.
BINGHAMTON (NY) *HERALD*, 18 DECEMBER 1895

"Mormonism. History of Its Origin and Wonderful Growth. The Mormon Church was Early Developed in our County of Broome and and [*sic*] from Here Joseph Smith Branched Out into the Great West," *Binghamton* (NY) *Weekly Herald,* 18 December 1895, 5.[1]

Joseph Smith the Mormon prophet and founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Lat[t]er Day Saints, was born in Sharon, Windsor county, Vermont, December 23, 1805. His parents and he removed to Manchester, Wayne [Ontario] county, N.Y., and there, at the age of 15, Joseph conceived the idea that he was to found a church, and, as he claimed, met the dam[n]ing emissary of God face to face. He soon after received a vision in which he claims to have been directed to delve in a hill for plates of the divine law, and at various times did so delve. This vision was in 1823, and for four years thereafter he was probation. He claimed to have found the plates soon after the vision, and to have raised them with an iron bar, but to have been commanded to let them lay four years while the Lord prepared him to do his chosen work. The hill Cumorah, where these plates are alleged to have been found, was and is on the road from Palmyra to Rochester, 25 miles south-west of the larger city and four miles from Palmyra. It is even to this day known as the "Mormon Hill." Here in 1823 as stated he saw the plates in a stone box but it was not until 1827 that he was permitted to remove and make use of them. In January of this year he had married a wife, Miss Emma Hale[2] by name, at South Bainbridge, Chenango county, N.Y., and it was in September of this year that he was permitted to remove the plates and commence translating them. The Angel Moroni, who had been, as Joseph claims, sent to superintend the job of discovery, removal, etc., here disappeared, and Joseph was thenceforth free to write and preach. Assisted by his wife and living on his father-in-law, he [Joseph Smith] worked diligently at what we

---

1. A clipping of this item is also located in the Jacob Morris Papers, John M. Olin Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

2. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), see "Introduction to Emma Hale Smith Collection."

now believe to have been a literary fake, but which he declared scriptural inspiration and finally prevailed on a Mr. Joseph Knight[3] of Colesville, Broome county, to furnish him $3,000 with which to print the first edition of the Mormon bible or Book of Mormon.[4] The copyright was procured June 11, 1829,[5] and early in 1830 Mr. Egbert B. Grandin[6] produced 5,000 copies of the work.

Mormonism commenced and meetings held in Broome and adjoining counties made many converts and roused much opposition. Joseph was continually receiving what he called revelations and was as constantly fought by those who considered him not only a blasphemer but a disturber of the public peace and a perverter of public morals. However, he was gaining ground in both New York and Pennsylvania, and was constantly baptising and preaching his strange doctrines. The formal organization of the church was in the house of Peter Whitmer,[7] at Fayette, Seneca county, for the people of Broome had made the county too hot for Joseph and his kind.[8]

The date of this organization was April 6, 1830. Mr. Knight of Broome county who had aided him, was a Universalist and to his home in Broome, Joseph returned during the summer of 1830, where he performed what is claimed to have been miraculous works, such as the healing of the sick, etc. Here or near here he persisted in baptising thirteen converts,[9] and this so incensed the populace of Broome that a mob drove him and his away. He was arrested and tried at South Bainbridge in Chenango, and at Colesville in Broome county, and was acquitted of the charges brought.[10] Later he attempted other work in Broome county at the house of this same Mr. Knight, but the people took the law in their own hands and drove him from the

---

3. On Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772-1847), see introduction to IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1837.

4. Actually, Martin Harris mortgaged his farm for this amount to fund the printing (III.L.14, MARTIN HARRIS MORTGAGE, 25 AUG 1829).

5. See III.L.12, BOOK OF MORMON COPYRIGHT, 11 JUN 1829.

6. On Egbert B. Grandin (1806-45), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 77.

7. On Peter Whitmer, Sr. (1773-1854), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 59.

8. On the location of the church's organization, see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 82.

9. These baptisms were performed in Colesville by Oliver Cowdery on 28 June 1830 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 43).

10. These court hearings occurred on 1 and 2 July 1830 (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 44-47).

place.[11] At Harmony, Pa., anything but harmony prevailed, and finally the Mormon missionaries sent out by Joseph made such flattering reports of Ohio that it was decided to remove from Colesville, Fayette, Harmony and other places to Independence, Ohio [Missouri]. Here the work went on and within a few years at Kirtland, Ohio, the Mormons held a conference, at which it was shown that the church had a membership of more than 2,000. ...

11. See I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 47-48.

F.
Miscellaneous
DOCUMENTS

1.
BAINBRIDGE (NY) COURT RECORD, 20 MARCH 1826

"A Document Discovered," *Utah Christian Advocate* (Salt Lake City) 3 (January 1886): 1.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The original 20 March 1826 Bainbridge court record has evidently not survived, so researchers have relied on three independent printings. The earliest appeared in Charles Marshall, "The Original Prophet. By a Visitor to Salt Lake City," *Fraser's Magazine* (London, England) 7 (February 1873): 225-35 (reprinted in the *Eclectic Magazine* [New York] 17 [April 1873]: 479-88). Marshall, an English journalist who visited Salt Lake City about 1872, introduced the document as follows:

> During my stay in Salt Lake permission was courteously accorded me to copy out a set of such judicial proceedings not hitherto published. I cannot doubt their genuineness. The original papers were lent me by a lady of well-known position, in whose family they had been preserved since the date of the transactions. I reproduce them here, partly to fulfil a duty of assisting to preserve a piece of information about the prophet, and partly because, while the charges are less vehement than some I might have chosen, the proceedings are happily lightened by a touch of the ludicrous.

The same court record was published again in 1883 by Episcopal Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, who mistakenly believed it would be appearing in print for the first time, in Philip Schaff's *Religious Encyclopaedia* (Tuttle 1883, 2:1576). Tuttle did not identify his source.

The *Utah Christian Advocate,* a Methodist periodical published in Salt Lake City, printed the record in January 1886 with a statement by Tuttle explaining the document's provenance: "The Ms. [manuscript] was given me by Miss Emily Pearsall who, some years since, was a woman helper in our mission and lived in my family, and died here. Her father or uncle was Justice of the Peace in Bainbridge, Chenango Co., New York, in Jo. Smith's time, and before him Smith was tried. Miss Pearsall tore the leaves out of the record found in her father's house and brought them to me" (*Utah Christian Advocate* 23 [January 1886]: 1).

Emily Pearsall (1833-72) was Justice Albert Neely's niece. She left

Chenango County, New York, in 1870 to serve as a missionary under Bishop Tuttle, who had been assigned to Salt Lake City the previous year. Tuttle later explained that "Miss Emily Pearsall, cousin of my junion [junior] warden in early days at Morris [New York], had come in 1870, from Bainbridge, Chenango County, N.Y., to help us as 'Sister' or 'Woman Missionary'" (Tuttle 1906, 272; Marquardt and Walters 1994, 227). Emily died in Salt Lake City on 5 November 1872.

After Emily's death, Bishop Tuttle evidently fell heir to the Neely court record, and he evidently turned over the "manuscript" to the Methodists to be published in their periodical. Nothing is known of the original record after that time. Attempts to trace the whereabouts of the original record have proven unsuccessful. Wesley P. Walters reported in 1974:

> Bishop Tuttle was appointed Bishop of Missouri August 9, 1886 ... and moved to St. Louis where he spent the remaining years of his service until his death there in 1923. The record apparently was not returned to the Bishop since it is neither on file at the Diocese Office, nor with his personal effects preserved by his grandson, Wallace Tuttle of St. Louis, nor with his library turned over to the St. Louis Public Library. ... If it had been returned to the Episcopal Church in Salt Lake City, it would have perished in the fire that destroyed their records many years ago. (Bishop Richard S. Watson, letter March 10, 1970.) The Methodist Rocky Mountain Conference, which now includes Utah, does not have it in its holdings. (Rev. Robert Runnells, letter July 28, 1970; phone call to Archivist Dr. Martin Rist, 1970.) It is possible that the editor of the *Utah Christian Advocate* may have kept it, but it is not known who served in that capacity so as to search for living descendants. Since the mission work in Utah had been placed under several different conferences it is remotely possible that it may be somewhere among their records (Walters 1974, 136, n. 22; 137, n. 25).

Walters subsequently learned that the last person to have the Neely record was the Reverend Samuel Johnson Carroll (1841-1912), editor of the *Utah Christian Advocate* at the time Neely's record was published. Walters contacted Carroll's living grandchildren, who reported that his papers had been lost (*Salt Lake City Messenger,* August 1985).

Analysis of the variant readings among the three versions indicates that each copied from the original court record rather than from one another. For instance, Marshall accidentally omitted the brief testimony of Horace Stowell, which was included in Tuttle's printing. Tuttle omitted Neely's itemization at the end of the court record, but the *Advocate* included both Horace Stowell's testimony and Neely's itemization. The *Advocate* specifically stated that Tuttle had sent them the "manuscript," and quoted Tuttle's

letter that the same "Ms. [manuscript] was given me by Miss Emily Pearsall." Because each transcription was prepared from the original, the three printings bear equal authority.

Of the three, the *Utah Christian Advocate* of January 1886 is evidently the most carefully copied. Marshall's copy, although the earliest printing, is flawed. It omitted not only Horace Stowell's testimony but also a number of words and phrases, misread some words, and in one instance was unable to decipher the handwriting. Tuttle's 1883 printing, while a more careful transcription, omits the court costs. Therefore, the *Advocate* printing is reproduced below.

In the absence of the original court record, some writers questioned the authenticity of the Pearsall document (Kirkham 1951, 1:475-92; 2:354-68, 470-500; Nibley 1961, 139-58). But Wesley P. Walters's discovery of Justice Albert Neely's 1826 bill of costs in the basement of the Chenango County Jail in Norwich, New York, in the summer of 1971 has laid to rest most objections (see IV.F.2, ALBERT NEELY BILL OF COSTS, 1826). As Walters noted, "Because the original manuscript was no longer available for scholars to study, questions were raised about the genuineness of the record. The discovery of the 1826 bills, however, establishes the Neely record beyond any further doubt because the official record and the trial bills corroborate each other so precisely. The Neely trial record and the bill submitted by him to the county both place the date of the trial on March 20, 1826. Both also agree exactly on the total costs to Mr. Neely of $2.68. Both also are in agreement on the nature of the charge, the bill listing it as a 'misdemeanor' and the trial record defining it as 'a disorderly person and an Impostor'" (Walters 1974, 137). Historians today generally accept the authenticity of the Pearsall court record, although some do so reluctantly (M. Hill 1972; Bushman 1984, 74-76; Hedengren 1985, 195-234; Quinn 1987, 45-46; Madsen 1990).

Despite general agreement that Smith was brought before Justice Albert Neely in March 1826, the legalities have not been clear and some questions have remained about what exactly occurred. Walters originally argued that the court record and bills represented a three-justice Court of Special Sessions (Walters 1974, 139-40), but subsequent investigation has virtually ruled out this possibility (Hedengren 1985, 205-210; Madsen 1990). If a Court of Special Sessions had been convened, the fact would have been recorded in the dockets of two other justices. This could not be verified by Walters in 1974 because of the disorganized condition of the early county records, but subsequent investigation of the bills of Justices Zechariah Tarble, Levi Bigelow, and James H. Humphrey by H. Michael Marquardt in May 1988 indicates that a Court of Special Sessions was not held (see Zechariah

Tarble Bill of Costs, 1826, Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York; Levi Bigelow Bill of Costs, 1826; and James Humphrey Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York). The position quickly gained favor that Smith appeared before Justice Neely at an "examination" or "preliminary hearing" (Hedengren 1985, 205-210). This seems confirmed by Neely's bill, which records: "To my fees in examination of the above Cause" (IV.F.2, ALBERT NEELY BILL OF COSTS, 1826).

Viewing the Pearsall document as a record of a preliminary hearing resolves some discrepancies that would otherwise remain inexplicable. Some had questioned the court record on grounds that "it has Joseph testify first, giving the defense before the prosecution has made its case" as would be expected in a trial record (*Deseret News,* 11 May 1946; Kirkham 1951, 2:431). But Thomas G. Waterman's *Justice's Manual* of 1825 instructed justices regarding pre-trial hearings: "After the examination of the accused, all witnesses present are to be examined on oath touching the complaint" (Waterman 1825, 191).

There has also been discussion about the number and identity of the witnesses (Kirkham 1951, 2:357-58). The court record names and summarizes the testimony of five: Josiah Stowell, Horace Stowell, Arad Stowell, a (David?) McMaster, and Jonathan Thompson. William D. Purple, who attended the hearing, recalled in 1877 the testimonies of three witnesses: Josiah Stowell, Jonathan Thompson, and Joseph Smith, Sr. (IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877). Neither Neely nor Purple intended to give a full account. Indeed, Neely's itemization documents the presence of two additional witnesses ("7 witnesses" in all). By law, justices were required to record only testimony "relative to the fact" or "material to prove the offence" (*New Conductor Generalis,* 1819, 141). One of these unrecorded testimonies seems to have been that of Joseph Smith, Sr., as remembered by Purple. The identity of the seventh witness remains unknown.

The court document indicates that Joseph Smith, Jr., was arrested because of a warrant issued by Peter G. Bridgman, Josiah Stowell's nephew, who charged him with being a "disorderly person and an Impostor." While "Impostor" is not a criminal offense, as Gordon A. Madsen has noted (1990, 94), it points to a specific section of the New York statute that describes various kinds of offenses under the definition of "disorderly persons." The section applicable to Bridgman's charge states: "All jugglers [deceivers],[1] and all

1. For a definition of "juggler," see IV.B.1, JOSIAH STOWELL, JR., TO JOHN S. FULLMER, 17 FEB 1843, n. 7; and IV.C.1, JOHN SHERER TO ABSALOM PETERS, 18 NOV 1830, n. 2.

persons *pretending* to have skill in physiognomy, palmistry, or like crafty science, or *pretending* to tell fortunes, or to discover where lost goods may be found ... shall be deemed and adjudged disorderly persons" (*Laws of New York, Revised,* 1813, 1:114, sec. 1, emphasis added; see also *New Conductor Generalis,* 1819, 108; Madsen 1990, 93). This was likely the statute Joseph Knight, Sr., referred to when he said, speaking of Smith's 1830 trial in South Bainbridge, that it was for "pretending to see under ground," that his prosecutors were motivated by "[a] little Clause they found in the york Laws against such things" (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 8). John S. Reed, Smith's legal counsel during his 1830 trials, remembered that his client was arrested "for the crime of glass looking and juglin fortune telling and so on which the State of New York was against it and made it a crime and the crime was a fine and imprisonment" (IV.D.1, JOHN S. REED TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, 6 DEC 1861, 1).

Despite Walters's discovery of the Neely and DeZeng bills, some discussion has continued to center on the court's concluding statement: "And therefore the court find[s] the defendant guilty." For different reasons, Gordon A. Madsen and Paul Hedengren have argued that the court's judgment was "a later inclusion" or "an afterthought supplied by whoever subsequently handled the notes" (Hedengren 1985, 216-17; Madsen 1990, 106). Madsen points to the record's consistent reference to Smith as "prisoner" except for the judgment, where he is called "defendant" (Madsen 1990, 106), and Hedengren believes it is inappropriate for pre-trial hearings to pronounce judgment (Hedengren 1985, 216-17). In absence of the original court record, this theory cannot be verified. However, Neely's use of the term "guilty" does not imply that a final judgment had been reached, only that Neely found sufficient evidence to proceed with a formal trial.[2] Regarding pre-trial hearings, the *Revised Statutes of the State of New York* for 1829, for instance, instructs:

> If it shall appear that an offence has been committed, and that there is probable cause to believe the prisoner to be *guilty* thereof, the magistrate shall bind by recognizance the prosecutor, and all the material witnesses against such prisoner, to appear and testify at the next court having cognizance of

2. An entry in Joseph Smith's journal for 18 December 1843 is applicable: "After Dinner, Constable Follet returned with Elliot. Trial in the Assembly room for examinatin <before Aaron Johnson>. [Elliot was] found guilty of Kidnapping and bound over for trial to the Circuit Court in the sum of $3,000" (LDS Church Archives; cf. Smith 1948, 6:117).

> the offence, and in which the prisoner may be indicted (*Revised Statutes,* 1829, 2:709, sec. 21).

An 1820 Ohio statute is even clearer on this matter:

> Sec. 2. *Be it further enacted,* That if the judges upon examination find the prisoner *guilty* of a bailable offence, they shall recognize him or her ... and in case the prisoner fails to give security, he or she shall be remanded to jail, and in all cases where the prisoner is *found guilty*, it shall be the duty of the judges to recognize the witnesses on the part of the state, to appear at the next court of common pleas ... (*Acts of a General Nature ...,* 1820, as cited in the *Salt Lake City Messenger,* July 1988, 10).

Madsen further argues that the legal facts in the case indicate that Smith was acquitted. Madsen's case rests mainly on the relevancy of New York rulings on fraud, especially the requirement that it must be public rather than private to be criminally indictable (Madsen 1990, 103-106). Since Josiah Stowell was the only witness who parted with money, he was the only person who had any legal basis to complain, Madsen argues. But since Stowell had no complaint, Madsen concludes that "Justice Neely had no other choice" than to discharge Smith (Madsen 1990, 105). It is doubtful that Neely would have made the same association with fraud that Madsen does. The record gives no indication that he was concerned about money changing hands. If Neely had considered fraud as an aspect of the "disorderly person" charge, one would expect more particularity in the record regarding the exchange of money. Instead, Neely was only interested in whether Smith had engaged in stone gazing for the purpose of locating buried treasure. Thus Neely's record emphasizes the "pretending" aspect of the "disorderly person" statute, even when recording the statements of witnesses defending Smith's purported seeric powers. Smith's defense was that he was a real seer, not a pretended one, and his witnesses, Josiah Stowell and Jonathan Thompson, gave reasons for their belief that he possessed a genuine gift. But because New York law made no distinction between fraudulent and real scryers, the court had every right to treat Smith's statement as a confession of guilt and proceed with a formal prosecution on the charge of "disorderly conduct." At that moment, the prisoner became "the defendant."

The court record and associated bills indicate that Neely was planning to bring Smith before a three-justice Court of Special Sessions. The record lists the "Recognizance" (*Advocate* transcription) or "Recognisances" (Marshall transcription) of three witnesses, which Walters interpreted as a reference to Neely's putting the material witnesses under recognizances or "bonds" to appear at the forthcoming Court of Special Sessions (Walters

1974, 139). However, Madsen argues that "*recognizance* or *recognize* was used interchangeably with *examination* or *examine* in the early 1800s," that only "the plural *recognizances* referred to types of bonds or undertakings, or sometimes bail" (Madsen 1990, 97-98). Madsen's interpretation led him to the unlikely conclusion that only three witnesses testified at the pre-trial hearing, ignoring Neely's itemization of "7 witnesses" at the end of his record. Madsen seems confused by the testimony of five witnesses in Neely's record (Madsen 1990, 100, 103). Moreover, not only is it unclear if the original reading of "recognizance(s)" in the court record is singular or plural, Madsen's distinction is not supported in the legal documents of the period for Chenango County. Indeed, I have been unable to find a single instance of "recognizance" used as a synonym for "examination" in Chenango County records for the decade of the 1820s. In arguing that "recognizance" and "recognize," in their singular forms, simply mean "to examine," Madsen misinterprets information taken from Walters's notes, stating: "Indeed, other justice-of-the-peace bills scrutinized by Walters refer to 'recognizing two witnesses 0.50' (meaning a fifty cent fee for examining two witnesses) or 'recognizing three witnesses 0.75'" (1990, 98). Having no firsthand experience with the documents in question, Madsen does not know that justices in South Bainbridge charged the county six cents for an "oath & examination of witness" (e.g., William Banks, 15 April 1828, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York) and twenty-five cents for a "Recognizance to appear at Genl. Sessions" (e.g., Levi Bigelow, 14 Jan. 1825, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York). In fact, there was no fee for "examinations" of witnesses per se, only for subpoenas and oaths. Thus, Neely's itemization of "7 witnesses" for 87½ cents represents charges for seven subpoenas and seven oaths, which when billed jointly, the justices charged twelve and a half cents for each witness (see note 32 below). From these seven witnesses, Neely recognized three at twenty-five cents each to testify before a Court of Special Sessions.[3]

Another indication that the Bainbridge court found probable cause to proceed is Neely's itemization of "Recognizance 25 [cents]" followed by "Mittimus 19 [cents]," which Walters interpreted as a reference to Smith being placed under bond to appear at the Court of Special Sessions (Walters 1974, 139). Madsen argues that "Recognizance 25 [cents]" refers to Neely's "examining" the defendant rather than binding him over for a future trial

3. Madsen's narrow definition of "recognizances" as bail is even inconsistent with New York's *Revised Statutes* of 1829, which allowed Justices of the Peace to charge twenty-five cents for each "bond or recognizance" (2:749).

(Madsen 1990, 97-98). As discussed above, there was no fee for examinations, only for subpoenas and oaths, and since Smith was not under oath, Neely could not charge the county. Thus Neely was not charging for his examination but rather for binding Smith over for the Court of Special Sessions. This interpretation seems even more likely by Neely's next charge for writing up a "Mittimus," which Madsen fails to discuss. As indicated by Webster's 1828 dictionary, the term usually referred to "a precept or command in writing, under the hand or hand and seal of a justice of the peace or other proper officer, directed to the keeper of a prison, requiring him to imprison an offender; a warrant of commitment to prison" (Webster 1828, s.v. "Mittimus"). The usual fee for a pre-trial mittimus, or "commitment for want of bail," or "commitment to custody," was nineteen cents (Waterman 1825, 199; *Revised Statutes of the State of New-York,* 1829, 2:749, sec. 1; see also Walters 1974, 140). State law fixed post-trial "commitment to prison" at twenty-five cents (*Revised Statutes of the State of New-York,* 1829, 2:750, sec. 2; see also Walters 1974, 140; Madsen 1990, 100; Hedengren 1985, 207). Since Neely had already billed for the initial "warrant" at nineteen cents, it seems probable that the additional nineteen cents for a "Mittimus" represents Neely's ordering Constable Philip DeZeng to take Smith into custody to ensure his appearance at the Court of Special Sessions (see *Salt Lake City Messenger,* July 1988; see also Hedengren 1985, 208, 209).

Perhaps the clearest indication that Neely found cause to proceed is the itemization in Constable DeZeng's bill: "Notifying two Justices" (IV.F.3, PHILIP DEZENG BILL OF COSTS, 1826; see also Walters 1974, 139; *Salt Lake City Messenger,* July 1988, 10-11). Madsen confesses that he cannot explain DeZeng's entry: "What is the meaning of the De Zeng entry 'Notifying two Justices'? I frankly do not know. Perhaps De Zeng confused this case with the earlier three-justice court of special sessions. Or perhaps Neely first thought the Joseph Smith case needed to be heard by three justices and later changed his mind" (Madsen 1990, 97). Madsen's first suggestion can be dismissed since there are no misplaced "Notifying two Justices" in DeZeng's bill. Madsen's second suggestion, which opens the door to a reversal of what he spends a great deal of time arguing against, begs the following question: If Neely had called for a Court of Special Sessions as the evidence seems to indicate, why was one not held?

The historical sources suggest an answer. Bainbridge resident Abram W. Benton claimed in 1831 that Smith was "condemned," but that "considering his youth, (he then being a minor) and thinking he might reform his conduct, he was designedly allowed to escape" (IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, 1831). It is unclear if Benton had attended the 1826 proceedings, but in bringing a warrant against Smith on the same

charge in July 1830, Benton demonstrated that he was familiar with issues of the first prosecution (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, MS:48 and n. 162).[4] In an 1842 statement, Joel K. Noble, the Colesville justice before whom Smith would appear in 1830, also said Smith had been "condemned" in 1826 but that "whisper came to Jo. off off" and so he "took Leg Bail" (IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 1). In other words, someone suggested to Smith that he jump bail and leave town. If so, this would explain why a Court of Special Sessions was called but not held. However, Smith's subsequent return to South Bainbridge, first about November 1826 seeking employment with Stowell and again in January 1827 to be married by Justice Tarble, suggests that there was more involved than Smith's escaping custody. If Smith had escaped custody, would he have returned to South Bainbridge in an open fashion? Not likely (Madsen 1990, 107, n. 30). I would therefore suggest the following scenario.

At the conclusion of the examination, Neely released Smith on his own recognizance to appear at the forthcoming trial, but when he learned that Smith had unlawfully crossed the county line into Colesville, presumably to the home of Joseph Knight, Neely issued a Mittimus to have Smith taken into custody and brought back to South Bainbridge. Constable DeZeng then traveled "10 miles ... with Mittimus to take him" (IV.F.3, PHILIP DEZENG BILL OF COSTS, 1826). I would further suggest that upon being returned to South Bainbridge, Smith managed to work out an off-the-record agreement with Neely. Smith had good reason to negotiate since it was becoming increasingly clear that his defense had no legal basis and that a formal trial would very likely result in his conviction and possible imprisonment. Smith's youth (being nine months short of his twenty-first birthday) may have inclined Neely towards leniency. Besides, although unrepentant, Smith seemed willing to abandon his treasure-seeing career.

---

4. Dale Morgan believed Benton's reminiscence (now supported by Noble) "harmonized the discrepant accounts," arguing that "Joseph Smith would appear to have been given the equivalent of a suspended sentence" (J. P. Walker 1986, 399, n. 21). While Morgan might be correct that Benton seems to harmonize disparate accounts, Morgan's interpretation implies that a judgment had been reached. This does not appear to have been the case for two fundamental reasons: (1) Benton's 1830 warrant would have amounted to double jeopardy and (2) Smith successfully defended himself in 1830 by pleading the statute of limitations (see IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 2). Time limitations apply only to prosecution, not to sentencing. If a judgment had been reached and Smith was given a suspended sentence in 1826, a second trial would not only have been illegal but unnecessary.

In addition to discontinuing his scrying in South Bainbridge, Smith may have agreed to leave town for a specific length of time. In misdemeanor cases, justices had power "to impose a fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars, or imprisonment in the common gaol [jail] of the county not exceeding six months, or both, as the case may require" (*Laws of the State of New-York,* 1813, 2:508, sec. 4). In misdemeanor cases involving non-residents, the same statute stipulated that upon payment of the fine and/or release from prison, the "offender shall be immediately ordered or transported out of the said county to his last place of settlement or abode if known; and if any person so ordered or transported shall remain in the said county for forty-eight hours, or return thereto within six calendar months after such order or transportation, he shall be again fined as aforesaid, or confined as aforesaid ..." (Ibid.). Neely may have insisted that his non-resident defendant leave town for the stipulated time. Thus, when Smith returned to South Bainbridge eight months later, there was no worry of arrest as long as he did not engage in scrying. Unaware of the off-the-record agreement, many of the townspeople perhaps assumed Smith had escaped custody.

While the documents do not give all the information one would hope for, they hardly support Oliver Cowdery's 1835 claim that Smith had been "honorably acquitted" (III.G.13, OLIVER COWDERY TO W. W. PHELPS, OCT 1835, 201). Ultimately, conclusions about innocence or guilt are less valuable than descriptions from "friendly" witnesses of Smith's early method of operation as a treasure seer. As Dale Morgan concluded, "From the point of view of Mormon history, it is immaterial what the finding of the court was on the technical charge of being 'a disorderly person and an imposter'; what is important is the evidence adduced, and its bearing on the life of Joseph Smith before he announced his claim to be a prophet of God" (J. P. Walker 1986, 373, n. 44).

PEOPLE OF STATE OF NEW YORK,
VS.
JOSEPH SMITH.

Warrant issued upon written complaint upon oath of Peter G. Bridgman[5] who informed that one Joseph Smith of Bainbridge was a disorderly

---

5. Peter G. Bridgman (1804-72), a nephew of Josiah Stowell and his wife, Miriam Bridgman. Wesley P. Walters has suggested: "Apparently he [Bridgman] became deeply concerned when he saw his uncle's money being transferred bit-by-bit into the pockets of a young 'glass-looking' confidence man named

person and an Impostor.[6] Prisoner brought before court 20 March [1826].[7] Prisoner examined,[8] says, that he came from [the] town of Palmyra, and, had been at the house of Josiah Stowels[9] in Bainbridge most of [the] time since, had small part of time been employed in looking for mines,—but the major part had been employed by said Stowel on his farm, and going to school.[10] That he had a certain stone, which he had occasionally looked at to determine where hidden treasures in the bowels of the earth were, that he professed to tell in this manner where gold mines were a distance under ground, and had looked for Mr. Stowel several times and [had] informed him where he could find those treasures, and Mr. Stowel had been engaged in digging for them—that at Palmyra he had pretended to tell by looking at this stone,

---

Joseph Smith. To safeguard the fortune of his aunt and cousins he took vigorous action by swearing out the warrant, something that would have been difficult for either Mrs. Stowell or her sons to do without raising an internal family argument. Everything we know about this crusading young 22-year-old Bridgman suggests that he had just the determined personality that would do such a thing. Within a month after the trial he was licensed as an exhorter by the Methodists and within three years had helped establish the west Bainbridge Methodist Church. Upon his death in 1872 his fellow ministers characterized him as 'an ardent Methodist and any attack upon either the doctrines or the polity of the M. E. Church, within his field of labor, was sure to be repelled by him with a vigorous hand'" (Walters 1974, 141-42; Minutes of the Wyoming Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, 1872, 34; "Incorporation of Religious Societies," 107, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York).

6. The term "Imposter" does not describe any criminal offense, as Gordon A. Madsen has pointed out (Madsen 1990, 94). The charge of "disorderly person" included those "*pretending* ... to discover where lost goods may be found" (*Laws of New York, Revised,* 1813, 1:114, sec. 1, emphasis added).

7. This date was subsequently verified by the discovery of Justice Neely's bill (see IV.F.2, ALBERT NEELY BILL OF COSTS, 1826).

8. Both Abram W. Benton and William D. Purple remembered that Smith was "examined" by Neely (see IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831; IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877). The record reflects the practice of not placing the accused under oath in pre-trial hearings (*New Conductor Generalis,* 1819, 142; *Revised Statutes of the State of New-York,* 1829, 2:708, sec. 14).

9. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

10. On Smith's going to school in South Bainbridge, see IV.B.1, JOSIAH STOWELL, JR., TO JOHN S. FULLMER, 17 FEB 1843; IV.D.8, ASA B. SEARLES REMINISCENCE, 1882.

where coined money was buried in Pennsylvania,[11] and while at Palmyra he had frequently ascertained in that way where lost property was of various kinds; that he has occasionally been in the habit of looking through this stone to find lost property for 3 years,[12] but of late had pretty much given it up on account of injuring his Health, especially his eyes, made them sore—that he did not solicit business of this kind, and had always rather declined having anything to do with this business.

Josiah Stowel sworn,[13] says that, prisoner had been at his house, some-

---

11. Probably at "Bend Mountain," which is mentioned in Josiah Stowell's testimony below.

12. Smith's confession of having searched for buried treasure for "three years" (ca. 1823-26) has been variously interpreted. As a corrective to those who rely on Tucker's unfounded and problematical 1867 claim that Smith obtained a stone in September 1819 (III.J.8, POMEROY TUCKER ACCOUNT, 1867, 19 and n. 32; Quinn 1987, 38-41), this editor in 1994 referred to the 1826 court record and Smith's date of ca. 1823 as the origin of his scrying career (Vogel 1994, 202, n. 11). Smith's statement seemed to point to the time when he obtained a brown seer stone, which Willard Chase said was found in 1822 while Smith and others were digging a well on his family's property (III.A.14, WILLARD CHASE STATEMENT, CIRCA 11 DEC 1833, 240-41). D. Michael Quinn, who believes Smith began scrying in 1819 rather than 1822 and that he had searched for treasure along the Susquehanna River as early as 1822 rather than 1825, argues that because the court record reflects a concern about Smith's treasure-seeing activities along the Susquehanna River in southern New York and northern Pennsylvania, the "three years" refers only to Smith's activities within this restricted area. This narrow interpretation has led Quinn to the unlikely conclusion that "the court record indicate[s] that Joseph Smith was using a seer stone along the Susquehanna as early as March 1823" (Quinn 1998, 53). However, the court proceeding was not exclusively concerned with testimony dealing with Smith's activities either "within its jurisdiction" (South Bainbridge) or his "alleged defrauding Stowell of the funds used to support the treasure quest ... in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania," as Quinn asserts. The record contains testimony about Smith's activities in Windsor, Broome County, New York, as well as his frequent treasure quests in Palmyra. A third interpretation has been offered by Mark Ashurst-McGee, a graduate student at Utah State University, who argues that the "three years" refers only to Smith's use of the brown seer stone, not to the white stone, which is mentioned later in the record as "another stone." It seems obvious to this editor that Smith was questioned about how long he had been scrying, not how long he had been scrying with a brown stone. He may have previously dabbled with scrying, but he and Chase both traced the beginning of his career to 1822/23.

13. W. D. Purple also remembered testimony being given by Josiah Stowell (IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877).

thing like 5 months,[14] had been employed by him to work on farm part of time—that he pretended to have skill of telling where hidden treasures in the earth were by means of looking through a certain stone—that Prisoner had looked for him some times[:] once to tell him about money buried on Bend Mountain in Pennsylvania,[15] once for gold on Monument hill,[16] and once for [a] Salt Spring[17] and that he positively knew that the Prisoner could tell and possessed the art of seeing those valuable treasures through the medium of said stone—that he found the digging part[18] at Bend and Monument Hill, as prisoner represented it—that prisoner had looked through said stone for Deacon Attl[e]ton[19]—for a mine[;] did not exactly find it but got a

---

14. From November 1825 to March 1826.

15. This is likely Stowell's name for Oquago Mountain, which occupies the greater area in the Great Bend of the Susquehanna River. At the southern edge of this mountain are the holes on the McKune/Skinner property described in Blackman's *History of Susquehanna County* (see IV.D.7, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 581-82; see also V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825).

16. A historical sketch of Windsor, Broome County, New York, published in the *Binghamton Daily Republican* for 18 August 1880, locates "Monument mountain" in the chain of hills on the west side of the Susquehanna River in the northern section of Windsor township (p. 3). W. R. Hine also mentioned Smith's digging on Monument Hill (see IV.D.10, WILLIAM R. HINE STATEMENT, CIRCA MAR 1885).

17. This statement perhaps relates to Thompson's statement below that Smith said there was salt in Bainbridge. George Collington and W. R. Hine mentioned that Smith searched for salt in Colesville (IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880; IV.D.10, WILLIAM R. HINE STATEMENT, CIRCA MAR 1885). Dale Morgan suggested that the search was encouraged by the discovery of a salt spring in 1824 on a branch of the Snake Creek, located about seven miles northeast of Montrose, Pennsylvania (J. P. Walker 1986, 398, n. 4; cf. *Zion's Herald,* 21 April 1824). However, closer to Stowell's neighborhood was the report in the *Oxford Gazette* of "salt springs" near the Susquehanna River in South Bainbridge, New York (see *Oxford Gazette* 9 [28 April 1824], quoted in Marquardt and Walters 1994, 84, n. 44).

18. Marshall could not make out the words "digging part," putting in their place "[word illegible]." Tuttle's transcription agrees with the *Advocate*'s reading. In locating the "digging part," Smith perhaps found evidence of previous digging.

19. Marshall and Tuttle spell "Attleton." Dale Morgan noted: "No person of this name appears in the census returns, but the name itself was obviously a puzzle to the transcriber[s]. In 1820 one Charles Atherton was listed at Bain-

(piece)[20] of ore which resembled gold, he thinks; that Prisoner had told by means of this stone where, a Mr. Bacon[21] had buried money, that he and prisoner had been in search of it; that prisoner said that it was on a certain Root of a stump 5 feet from surface of the earth, and with it would be found a tail feather[;] that said Stowel and prisoner thereupon commenced digging, found a tail feather, but [the] money was gone, that he supposed that [the] money moved down[22]—that prisoner did not[23] offer his services; that he never deceived him,—that Prisoner looked through stone and described Josiah Stowels house and out houses, while at Palmyra at Simpson Stowels[,][24] correctly, that he had told about a painted tree with a man's hand

---

bridge" (J. P. Walker 1986, 398n5). Son of Cornelius Atherton, Charles married a Miss Bramhall and eventually moved to Friendship, Allegany County, NewYork ("History of Afton," *Afton Enterprise,* 20 May 1877). He made the following land purchases in South Bainbridge: part of Lot 60 from Horace Stowell, 28 July 1819, and part of Lot 63 from George Clapper, 1 September 1824 (Liber AA, 249; Liber GG, 418; Liber KK, 487, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York). He subsequently sold land to Sherwood & Easton in 1830 and to Ira Church in 1836 (Liber OO, 207; Liber 54, 435).

20. Marshall reads "p—[word unfinished]," whereas Tuttle has "piece." Marshall is probably correct here, with "p[iece]" being conjectural.

21. Possibly Asher (or Ashel) Bacon, listed in the 1830 census of Windsor, Broome County, New York (1830:83), and in the 1825 census of Windsor Township (Broome County Historical Society, Binghamton, New York). On 14 July 1822, Bacon applied for a patent on his design for a water wheel (original patent in Broome County Historical Society, Binghamton, New York).

22. Cf. IV.E.8, *BAINBRIDGE* (NY) *ENTERPRISE,* 16 AUG 1888.

23. The word "not" is missing from both Marshall's and Tuttle's transcriptions. However, this conflicts with Smith's other statement that "he did not solicit business of this kind, and had always rather declined having anything to do with this business." Although it is difficult to explain how two copyists could have made the same error, the *Advocate*'s reading is most likely correct. It is also possible that the *Advocate* supplied an obviously accidental omission.

24. Simpson Stowell is likely Simeon Stowell (1791-1868), Josiah Stowell's oldest son (Marquardt and Walters 1994, 80, n. 19). Larry C. Porter located a record of Simpson's birth of 29 July 1791 (Porter 1971, 123, n. 36), the same as for Simeon in the *Stowell Genealogy* (Stowell 1922, 230). The 1820 census of South Bainbridge has him as Simpson. He was evidently temporarily living in Manchester in 1825 when Josiah came to visit him and learned about Joseph Smith's seeric abilities. His presence in the area is confirmed by a land purchase he made on 29 January 1827 in which the deed describes him as "Simpson Stowell of the town of Manchester" (Deeds, Liber 45, 400; and Mortgages, Liber 14, 292, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua,

painted upon it by means of said stone; that he [Josiah Stowell] had been in company with prisoner digging for gold, and had the most implicit faith in Prisoner[']s skill.

Horace Stowel[25] sworn, says he [has] see[n] Prisoner look into that strange stone, pretending to tell where a chest of dollars were buried in Windsor a number of miles distant, marked out size of chest in the leaves on ground.

Arad Stowel[26] sworn, says he went to see whether Prisoner could convince him that he possessed the skill that he professed to have, upon which prisoner laid a Book open upon a White Cloth, and proposed looking through another stone which was white and transparent; held the stone to the candle, turned his back to book and read, the deception appeared so palpable that [witness] went off disgusted.

McMaster,[27] sworn, says he went with Arad Stowel, to be convinced of Prisoner's skill, and likewise came away disgusted, finding the deception so palpable. Prisoner pretended to him that he could discern objects at a distance by holding this white stone to the sun or candle; that prisoner rather declined looking into a Hat at his dark-colored stone as he said that it hurt his eyes.

New York; see also Walters 1974, 142). On 13 June 1829, "Simpson Stowell" sold land on South Bainbridge Lot 31 to his brother Josiah Stowell, Jr. (Deeds, Liber OO, 103, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York). By the time of the 1865 state census, "Simson" was living in Tioga, Tioga County, New York, with his sister Mary and her husband Benjamin Richards. Porter located a record of his death on 27 March 1868; he was buried in the Smithboro Cemetery, Township of Barton, Tioga County, New York (Porter 1971, 123, n. 36).

25. Although Horace Stowell has been identified either as Josiah Stowell's son or cousin, Wesley P. Walters believed the latter was most likely correct (Walters 1974, 135 n.20). However, there is no reason to rule out Josiah's son Horace (b. 1796) who, in his thirties, is listed in the 1830 census of South Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York (1830:2).

26. Arad Stowell, cousin of Josiah Stowell, was school commissioner in 1826 and one of the first trustees of the South Bainbridge Presbyterian Church in 1819, where he served as a deacon. In 1831 he was ordained an elder. He died in 1831 (J. H. Smith 1880, 150; *Manual of the Nineveh Presbyterian Church,* 1879, 12, Broome County Historical Society, Binghamton, New York; Walters 1974, 141).

27. Wesley P. Walters suggested that David McMaster is "most likely the McMaster mentioned in the trial [record]" (Walters 1974, 141 n.37; cf. J. P. Walker 1986, 398-99 n.11). McMaster, in his fifties, is listed in the 1830 census of Bainbridge (1830:2). He was one of the first trustees of the South Bainbridge

Jonathan Thompson,[28] says that Prisoner was requested to look [for/at?] Yoemans[29] for [a] chest of money—did look and pretended to know where it was, and that Prisoner, Thompson and Yoemans went in search of it; that Smith arrived at Spot first, was in night, that Smith looked in Hat while there and when very dark, and told how the chest was situated—after digging several feet struck upon something sounding like a board or plank—Prisoner would not look again pretending that he was alarmed, the last time he looked[,] on account of the circumstances relating to the trunk being buried [which] came all fresh to his mind, that the last time that he looked, he discovered distinctly, the two Indians who buried the trunk, that a quarrel ensued between them and that one of said Indians was killed by the other and thrown into the hole beside of the truck, to guard it as he supposed—Thompson says that he believes in the prisoners professed skill, that the board he struck his spade upon was probably the chest but on account of an enchantment, the trunk kept settling away from under them while digging, that notwithstanding they continued constantly removing the dirt, yet the trunk kept about the same distance from them, Prisoner said that it appeared to him that salt might be found in Bainbridge, and that he is certain

---

Presbyterian Church, organized in 1825, and commissioner of highways in 1828 (J. H. Smith 1880, 150). He was a student in the law office of Buttolph and Thorp in Norwich about 1825 or 1826. He apparently died at Steuben, New York, in 1848 (Randall 1874, 93; *Manual of the Nineveh Presbyterian Church,* 1879, 12, Broome County Historical Society, Binghamton, New York). Cyrus McMaster, who was involved with Smith's 1830 trials, is also a possibility (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 48).

28. Purple remembered that Thompson described such an event (IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877). Thompson defended Smith at the later court hearing in July 1830 in South Bainbridge, as well (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 45). On Thompson (1787-?), a shoemaker living in 1830 at Plymouth, Chenango County, New York, see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 149.

29. Possibly Andrew Yeomans listed in the 1830 census of Preston, Chenango County, New York (1830:229). Dale Morgan suggested William, Solomon, and Jeremiah Yeomans, all listed in the 1820 census of Windsor, Broome County (J. P. Walker, 1986, 399 n.13). Land records indicate that the Yeomans owned land on Windsor Lot 11, situated on the south or east side of the Susquehanna River and immediately east of Ouaquaga Mountain, as well as across the river in Colesville (see Jeremiah Yeomans, Land Transfer to Solomon Yeomans, 9 February 1825, Liber 9, 108; 5 September 1827, Liber 10, 344-45; Solomon Yeomans, Land Transfer to William Yeomans, 28 June 1827, Liber 10, 364).

that Prisoner, can, divine things by means of said Stone and Hat; that as evidence of fact—Prisoner looked into his hat to tell him about some money Witness lost 16 years ago, and that he described the man that Witness supposed had taken it, and disposition of money. And therefore the court find[s] the defendant guilty—cost[:] warrant, 19 cts [cents],[30] complaint upon oath 25 [cents].[31] 7 Witnesses 87½ [cents],[32] Recognizance 25 [cents],[33] Mittimus

30. The standard justice's fee for issuing a warrant was nineteen cents (*Revised Statutes of the State of New York,* 1829, 2:749, sec. 1; Waterman 1825, 199; Walters 1974, 137; see also IV.F.4, JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JUL 1830).

31. Marshall's reading of "25½ c[ents]" is most likely incorrect. Wesley P. Walters noted, "Examination under oath of the complainant [Peter G. Bridgman], which was required by law whenever the complaint concerned a criminal offence, was billed at 25¢ whether it was referred to as 'complaint upon oath' as in the Neely record or 'oath and examination' as in Tarble's bill. ... When Dr. Purple was seeking to recover his coat the 1826 bill of Justice Tarble listed 'oath & examination of William D. Purple' at 25¢ as well as the issuance of the warrant at 19¢" (Walters 1974, 137-38 and n. 27; Zechariah Tarble, 26 May 1826, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York; on the mandatory oath of complainer, see *Revised Statutes of the State of New-York,* 1829, 2:706, sec. 2). However, Justices William Banks and Levi Bigelow combined the warrant and complaint on oath in one charge of twenty-five cents. For example, Justice Bigelow's bill for 4 June 1825 reads: "Complaint oath and warrant Petit Larceny People vs Lewis T Porter 0.25" (Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York).

32. On the number and identity of the witnesses, see discussion above. Wesley P. Walters noted, "While the law allowed a charge of 6¢ for a subpoena and 6¢ for administering an oath, somehow when the two were billed jointly by the Bainbridge justices the cost was billed at 12½¢ instead of the expected 12¢, as is evidenced in William Bank's 1828 bill recording 'Subpoena & Swearing two Witnesses on Examination 0.25'" (Walters 1974, 138; William Banks, 13 April 1828, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York). The general practice was to charge subpoenas and oaths separately at six cents. Neely and Banks may have followed Waterman's 1825 *Justice's Manual* which lists twelve and a half cents as the standard justice's fee for giving oaths (Waterman 1825, 199).

33. Marshall's copy reads differently: "Recognisances, 25¢." The standard justice's fee for a "bond or recognizance" was twenty-five cents (*Revised Statutes of the State of New-York,* 1829, 2:749, sec. 1; Waterman 1825, 199).

19 [cents],[34] Recognizance or [of] witness[es] 75 [cents],[35] Subpoena 18 [cents][36]—$2[.]68.[37]

34. The standard fee for a pre-trial mittimus, or "commitment for want of bail," or "commitment to custody," was nineteen cents (Waterman 1825, 199; *Revised Statutes of the State of New-York,* 1829, 2:749, sec. 1; see also Walters 1974, 140).

35. Marshall's version reads differently: "Recognisances of witnesses, 75 c[ents]." The standard fee for a recognizance, whether of a defendant or witness, was twenty-five cents (Waterman 1825, 199; *Revised Statutes of the State of New York,* 1829, 2:749, sec. 1; Walters 1974, 138). The fee of seventy-five cents therefore represents Neely's recognizance of three witnesses to appear at the forthcoming Court of Special Sessions (Walters 1974, 139).

36. Wesley P. Walters noted, "Subpoenas were fixed by law at 6¢ each so that again three persons are represented in the 18¢ charge" (Walters 1974, 138; *Revised Statutes of the State of New-York,* 1829, 2:749, sec. 1). See, e.g., the 1828 bill of Justice William Banks: "subpoena for Witness 0.06 [cents]" (William Banks, 15 April 1828, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York). Because Neely had already billed for subpoenas under "7 Witnesses," these three subpoenas were evidently being issued in anticipation of Smith's appearance before the forthcoming Court of Special Sessions.

37. For an unknown reason, $2.68 is one-half cent less than the total should be.

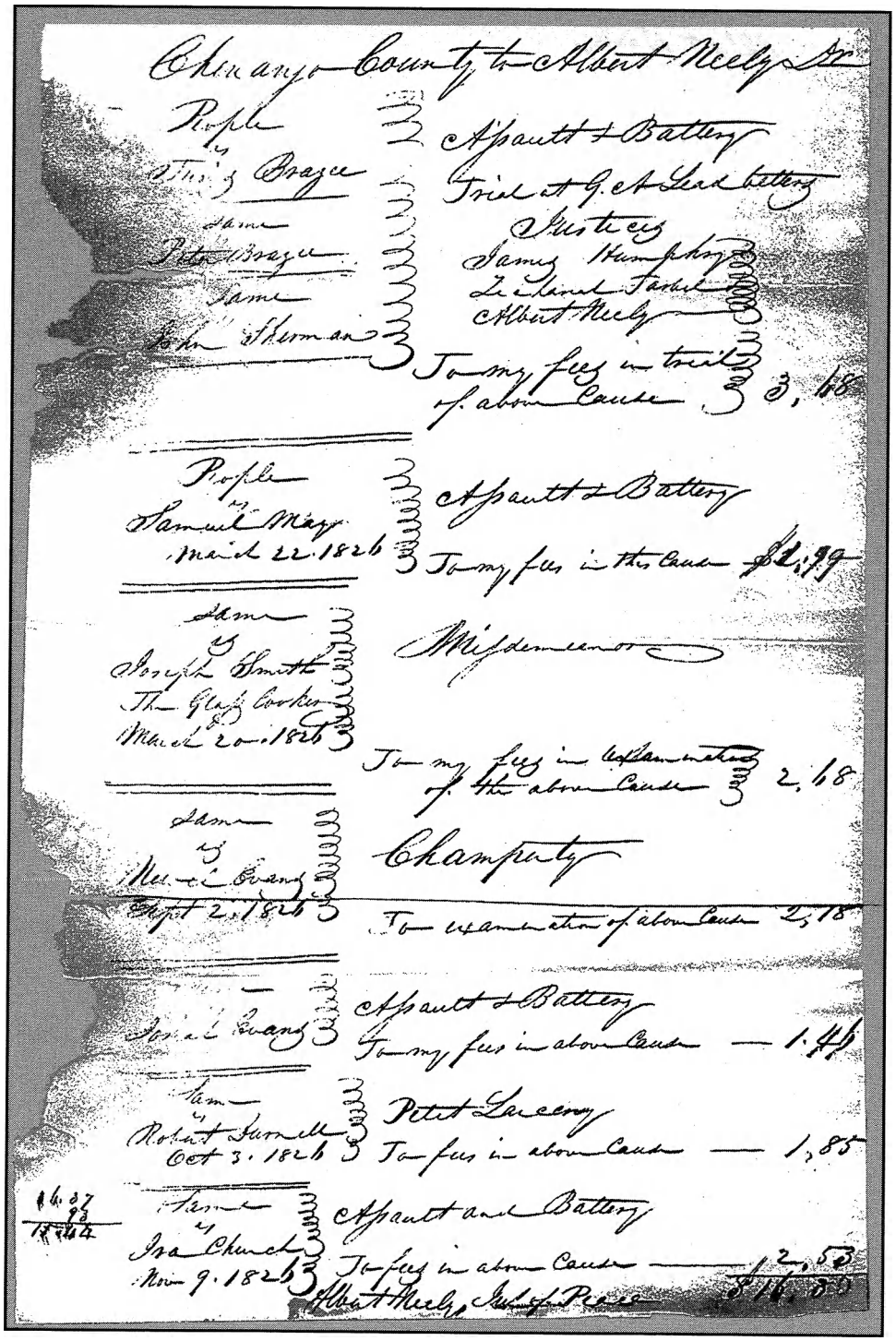
2.
ALBERT NEELY BILL OF COSTS, 1826

Albert Neely Bill of Costs, 1826, Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Albert Neely (c. 1798-1857), son of Alexander and Lydia Neely, was born about 1798. He married his first wife, Phebe Pearsall (1809-49), in Chenango County, New York. He received his commission as a justice of the peace on 16 November 1825. He was otherwise a merchant and may have been the first postmaster of South Bainbridge. Before the 1830 census, he moved to Fayetteville, Onondaga County, New York, where he is listed in his thirties. County records indicate that he lived in the Fayetteville area until at least 1836. In 1838 he is listed as a justice of the peace in Manlius, New York, and appears in the 1840 census for that town. Soon after, he moved to Chicago, where he lived for fifteen years as "a well-known commission merchant; the family residing most of the time at Belvidere [Boone County, Illinois]." He may have run the family store and cashiered in brother Alexander's Belvidere Bank. In March 1850 Albert married his second wife, Amanda. He died on 17 April 1857 in Chicago (Walters 1974, 133 n.17; J. H. Smith 1880, 143, 144; Henry A. Neely File, Onondaga County Historical Society, Syracuse, New York; *Syracuse Journal,* 15 December 1866; U.S. Census, Manlius, Onondaga County, New York; *Laws of the State of New York,* 1838, 17-18; Neely Family Files, Boone County Historical Society, Belvidere, Illinois).

The Neely bill was uncovered in the summer of 1971 by Wesley P. Walters and Fred Poffarl in the basement of the Chenango County jail in Norwich, New York. Its discovery substantiated the published trial record, for which there is no extant holograph (see IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). Both records date the hearing to 20 March 1826 and record the total cost at $2.68. In addition, both agree as to the nature of the charge, the bill listing it as a "misdemeanor" and the trial record more specifically as "disorderly person" (Walters 1974, 137). In turn, the genuineness of Neely's bill is attested to by the intricate correlations between it and the bills of Justices Levi Bigelow, James H. Humphrey, and Zechariah Tarble, subsequently located and examined by H. Michael Marquardt in May 1988. Marquardt located Justice Tarble's Docket Book for the years 1822-26, which contains two lines and a signature by Albert



Albert Neely Bill of Costs, 1826. Courtesy of the Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York.

Neely, and noted that the handwriting was consistent with that on the bill of costs discovered by Walters (Zechariah Tarble, Docket Book, entry of 19 September 1825, Bainbridge Town Hall, Bainbridge, New York).

Neely's bill was published by Jerald Tanner in the August 1971 *Salt Lake City Messenger* (p. 2) and by Marvin S. Hill in the winter 1972 issue of *Brigham Young University Studies* (M. Hill 1972, 233). In 1991 I examined the document in order to make an accurate transcription. It summarizes the justice's fees for seven trials, the last of which is dated 9 November 1826. By law, the bill was to be submitted to the county board of supervisors (Waterman 1825, 199). When filed with other bills at Norwich, it was folded into fourths with a filing notation written as follows: "[A]lbert Neely / County of Chenango / $17.00 / Justice of Peace / pass[e]d. $15.44." Because of the importance of the bill, I have reproduced the entire document with an analysis of the interrelationship between it and other justices' bills.

Chenango County to Albert Neely		Dr
People		
vs	Assault & Battery	
Tunis Brazee		
	Trial at G. A Leadbetters	
Same	Justices	
vs	James Humphry	
Peter Brazee	Zechariah Tarbel	
	Albert Neely	
Same		
vs		
John Sherman	To my fees in trial	
	of above Cause	3.68[1]

---

1. This represents a three-justice trial known as a "court of special sessions." Neely lists the other two justices who participated in the case. While all three recorded the trial, Tarble was the only one to date it (February 1826). Tarble itemized the case of "People vs John Sherman" as follows: "to attendance with James H. Humphrey / & Albert Neely to form said Court of / Special Session $1[.]00 / To Divisional Costs 20 [cents]"; he summarized the related cases involving "the same (vs) Tunis Burzee 1[.]28" and "the same (vs) Peter Burzee 1[.]28" (Zechariah Tarble Bill of Costs, 1826, Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York). The constable in this case was Joseph P. Chamberlin, who recorded in his bill: "to Serving warrant <Issued by J H Humphrey Esq> on John Cauly[,] Tunis Brazee[,] Peter

People		
vs	Assault & Battery	
Samuel May		
March 22, 1826	To my fees in this Cause	$1.99[2]
same		
vs	Misdemeanor[3]	
Joseph Smith		
The Glass looker[4]		
March 20, 1826	To my fees in examination of the above Cause	2.68[5]

Brazee $1[.]00 / to notify Esqrs Tarble & Neely 75 [cents] / to 15 meals of victuals for prisoners 1[.]87 / to 3 Lodgings 18 [cents] / to carry Prisoners to norwich on mitimus / 26 miles 5[.]04 / to hireing George W Stone to go with me & Expense 3[.]00" (Joseph P. Chamberlin Bill of Costs, 1826, Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, Chenango County Office Building).

2. The details of this case are presently unknown. Tarble recorded another Samuel May trial on the same charge on 25 September 1826 (Zechariah Tarble Bill of Costs, 1826, Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, Chenango County Office Building).

3. Some attention has been given to Neely's use of the imprecise term "Misdemeanor" when listing Smith's case. In contrast, he used precise legal terminology when listing the other offenses in his 1826 bill, although they were also misdemeanors (M. Hill 1972, 228; Ensley 1987, 7). He may have used such vague terminology in conjunction with "Glass looker" because a case involving "disorderly persons" who "pretend ... to discover where lost goods may be found" was uncommon (see discussion in note 4 below).

4. Gordon A. Madsen noted, "There was no statutory or common law crime of 'glass looking' then on the books. Therefore, 'Glass Looker' is likely a phrase of identification rather than the statement of a criminal charge" (Madsen 1990, 94). It is true that Smith had apparently earned the title of "glass-looker" (IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831; IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842), but the term may have been used here to distinguish what kind of "misdemeanor" was involved. Indeed, this may point to the specific section of the statute which states that "all jugglers, and all persons pretending to have skill in physiognomy, palmistry, or like crafty science, or pretending to tell fortunes, or to discover where lost goods may be found ... shall be deemed and adjudged disorderly persons" (*Laws of New York, Revised,* 1813, 1:114, sec. 1; Madsen 1990, 93). John Reed, Smith's legal counsel during his July 1830 trials, said Smith was arrested "for the crime of glass looking and juglin fortune telling and so on which the state of New York was against it and made it a crime and the crime was a fine and imprisonment" (IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1861).

5. Since Joseph Smith's case was an "examination" or pre-trial hearing rather than a Court of Special Sessions, Neely was the only justice to record it.

Same		
vs	Champery	
Newel Evans		
Sept. 2, 1826	To examination of above Cause	2.18[6]
Same		
vs	Assault & Battery	
Josiah Evans		
	To my fees in above Cause	1.46[7]
Same		
vs	Petit Larceny	
Robert Darnell		
Oct 3, 1826	To fees in above Cause	1.85[8]
Same		
vs	Assault and Battery	
Ira Church		
Nov 9, 1826	To fees in above Cause	2.53[9]
	Albert Neely, Jus[tice] of Peace	$16.37

6. Joseph P. Chamberlin, who was the constable in this case, recorded for 2 September 1826: "to Serving peace warrant Issued by Albert Neely Esqr / on Newell Evans 62 [cents] / to Subpoenaing 5 Witnesses 0[.]62 / to attending Court one Day 1[.]00" (Joseph P. Chamberlin Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Office Building).

7. The two other justices who recorded this case were Levi Bigelow and James Humphrey. Bigelow, who dated the case 16 September, recorded: "To Notifying two Justices to a Court of special Sessions / assault & Battery on Josiah Evans 25 [cents] / attending trial 1$ Divissional Costs 47 c[ents] 1[.]47" (Levi Bigelow Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York).

8. This case is recorded by Levi Bigelow and Zechariah Tarble. Justice Bigelow's bill of costs for 3 October 1826 states: "To attending Court of Special Sessions Larceny Robert Darnell 1— / Divissional Costs 23" (Levi Bigelow Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Historical Society). Tarble's bill of costs for the same date reads: "the Same [the People] (vs) Robert Darnell Pettit Larcany 1[.]23" (Zechariah Tarble Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Office Building). Constable Joseph P. Chamberlin recorded for this date: "To Following Robert Darrell on a Warrant / Issued by Albert Neely Esqr for felony to / unadilla to norwich & there took him / & Broat him Back to South Bainbridge 2 Days / with a man with me horse & waggon $5[.]00 / to Expenses 2[.]50 / to 5 meals of victuals for prisoner / to 1 Lodgeing 6 [cents] / to notifying Esqrs Bigelow & Tarble 0[.]62½ / to Summons Jury 37½ [cents]" (Joseph P. Chamberlin Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Office Building).

9. This case is also recorded by Justice Bigelow, who dated it 9 November

[*Following written at bottom of left margin*]

16.37
93

15.44[10]

1826: "To attendance at court of Special Sessions / People vs Ira Church 1—" (Levi Bigelow Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Historical Society). Justice Tarble evidently did not bill for this case until 1827: "To attending Esqrs Albert Neely & Levi Bigelow in a suit of Assault & Battery / People of the State of New York—Ira Church Def[endan]t in November 1826 Last Past $1.00" (Zechariah Tarble Bill of Costs, 1827, Chenango County Historical Society). Constable Philip DeZeng also recorded: "Serving warrant on Ira Church Assult / Subpoening 11 witnesses / Notifying Justices" (IV.F.3, PHILIP DEZENG BILL OF COSTS, 1826).

10. This amount was "passed" by the Chenango County Supervisors and entered into the "Supervisor's Journal."

3.
PHILIP DEZENG BILL OF COSTS, 1826

Philip DeZeng, Bill of Costs, 1826, Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The DeZengs[1] were among the early settlers of Chenango County. Philip was appointed a deputy to Sheriff Thompson Mead on 10 November 1824 (Miscellaneous Records, Book B, 24, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York). He is also mentioned as one of Bainbridge's hotel keepers (Randall 1874, 93). Between twenty-six and forty-five years of age, Philip DeZeng is listed in the 1820 census of South Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York (1820:162).

Constable DeZeng's bill of costs for 1826 includes his itemization for the Joseph Smith case. On 19 March 1826 he arrested Smith, held him over night—perhaps at his own tavern, and attended the prisoner during the preliminary hearing the following day. DeZeng's bill is badly damaged; many of the charges on the right side of the document cannot be read. In my transcription, I have separated the individual cases to facilitate analysis of the bill.

Chenango County To Philip M DeZeng

1826

To serve a Peace warrant on S. R. Godrich[2] & travel	$1.00
Keeping him over night	1.00
Subpoening 6 witnesses	5
Notifying two Justices	1 —
Carrying him to Gaol [jail]	3 —
5 meals victuals	6.3[.]

---

1. I have followed the practice in the early records and histories of rendering the name DeZeng rather than De Zeng.

2. Justice Levi Bigelow dates this case 11 May 1826: "To oath & Warrant People vs Sam[ue]l R Goodrich Petit Larceny 31½ [cents] / Certifying to two Justices 1[.]21 / Trial 1$ divisional Costs 21 c[ents] 1[.]21" (Levi Bigelow, Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York). Both

Serving venire for Coroners inquest of Garcet Hicks[3]	1.50
Sobpoening 11 witnesses	1.38
Serving warrant assault on Timothy Hodgeman[4] & [travel?]	1.[..]
Subpoening 6 witnesses	[...]
Serving venire	[...]
Notifying two Justices	[...]
Serving warrant & travel Josiah Evans[5] & [?]	[...]
Subpoening 6 witnesses	[...]
Serving venire	[...]
Notifying Justices	[...]
Serving warrant on Ira Church[6] Assult	[...]
Subpoening 11 witnesses	[...]
Notifying Justices	[...]

James Humphrey and Zechariah Tarble list a Benjamin C. Goodrich; Tarble dates this case of "Petit Larceny" 16 May (James Humphrey, Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Historical Society; Zechariah Tarble, Bill of Costs, 1826, Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York).

3. Justice Bigelow dates this case 4 June 1826: "To taking and returning an inquest on the Body of James [-] Alias James Hicks 10— / Summons for Jury 37½ [cents]/ 11 Subpoenas 2[.]75 / Swearing 9 Witnesses 54 [cents] / [total:] 13[.]66" (Levi Bigelow, Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Historical Society). "Venire" or "venire facias" is a writ summoning persons to serve as jurors.

4. The case is recorded in the bills of James Humphrey, Levi Bigelow, and Zechariah Tarble. Both Bigelow and Tarble recorded a date of 28 August 1826. The case was initiated in Bigelow's court, who recorded: "To Notifying two Justices Assault & Battery Timothy Hodgeman 25 [cents]/ Subpoena 4 Wit[nesses] 24 c[ents] trial by Jury & acquited 1$ 1[.]24 / Divisional Costs 25 [cents]" (Levi Bigelow, Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Historical Society).

5. The case is recorded by Justices Albert Neely, Levi Bigelow, and James Humphrey. It originated in Bigelow's court, who dated it 16 September 1826: "To Notifying two Justices to a Court of Special Sessions / assault & Battery on Josiah Evans 25 [cents]/ attending trial 1$ Divisional Costs 47 c[ents] 1[.]47" (Levi Bigelow, Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Historical Society).

6. Both Albert Neely and Levi Bigelow recorded the date as 9 November 1826. The identity of the third justice is presently unknown; neither Tarble nor Humphrey mentioned the case. Bigelow wrote: "To attendance at Court of Special Sessions / People vs Ira Church 1—" (Levi Bigelow, Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Historical Society).

Serving Warrant on Joseph Smith & travel[7]	1.25
Subpoening 12 Witnesses & travel[8]	2.50
Attendance with Prisoner two days & 1 night[9]	1.75
Notifying two Justices[10]	1.—
10 miles travel with Mittimus to take him[11]	1.—
going to Unadilla & Guilford with Bench warrant for Marten Burger	[2.56]
going from ~~Oxford to~~ Norwhich to Oxford & subpoening 8 witnesses People vs [Fainam?]	1.—
Serving warrant on Newel Slade[12] & Travel	1.[25]
Subpoening 8 witnesses	1.00
Notifying 2 Justices	[1.00]
Attending Trial	[...]

7. This represents Joseph Smith's initial arrest on 19 March 1826.

8. The court record indicates the participation of seven witnesses (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). Apparently five witnesses either did not show or were not called to testify.

9. DeZeng apparently arrested Smith on 19 March, held him over night, and attended the prisoner during the preliminary hearing on the following day.

10. This entry indicates that Justice Neely found Smith culpable and instructed DeZeng to notify two other justices in preparation for a Court of Special Sessions (see Walters 1974, 139; and introduction to IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826).

11. Walters originally believed this referred to DeZeng taking Smith to jail after his conviction (Walters 1974, 139), but now that Smith's appearance before Justice Neely is understood to be a preliminary hearing, this entry has become more difficult to explain. Discussion has centered on the meaning of DeZeng's phrase "to take him." In arguing against Walters's earlier interpretation, Madsen observes: "The phrase *to take* then as now meant 'to arrest' or 'to capture'; hence, 'to take prisoner' could more probably mean the act of arresting rather than transporting him somewhere, especially since no somewhere is mentioned" (Madsen 1990, 100). A review of the extant bills from the 1820s generally supports Madsen's observation, although the phrase "to take" does sometimes mean to transport or convey. Regardless, Madsen's interpretation does not explain the juxtaposition of "10 miles travel" with "to take him." Nor does Madsen explain DeZeng's itemization of two warrants and two arrests. An explanation might be that Neely released Smith on his own recognizance to appear at the forthcoming trial, then learned that Smith had unlawfully crossed the county line into Colesville and issued a mittimus to have him taken into custody and brought back to South Bainbridge (see introduction to IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826).

12. This case is recorded by Tarble, Bigelow, and Humphrey. Tarble and

Serving warrant on John Reed[13]	[...]
Subpoening 8 witnesses	[...]
Notifying 2 Justices	[...]
Attending Trial	41.1[5]

Bigelow record the date 20 May. Bigelow combined this case with that of John Reed which follows Slade's in DeZeng's bill: "To oath & warrant People vs John Reed & Newell Slade 31½ [cents]/ Notifying two Justices 50 [cents] / Attending two Trials 2— / divissional Cost 28 [cents]" (Levi Bigelow, Bill of Costs, 1826, Chenango County Historical Society). Bigelow probably billed the Slade and Reed cases together since they were tried on the same day.

13. This case is recorded by Zechariah Tarble, Levi Bigelow, and James Humphrey. Both Tarble and Bigelow record the date 20 May 1826 (see note 12 above).

4.
JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JULY 1830

Joseph Chamberlin, Bill of Costs, 1830, Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York.

EDITORIAL NOTE

From about 1822 to about 1829, Joseph P. Chamberlin served as constable in Chenango County. He is also credited with being one of the county's first postmasters. By 1830, he was serving as a justice of the peace in South Bainbridge, Chenango County. In his thirties, he is listed in the 1830 census of South Bainbridge (1830:4). In 1843 he was elected to the New York State Assembly in Albany (Randall 1874, 92; J. H. Smith 1880, 117, 119, 144).

Joseph Smith arrived in Colesville, New York, about 25 June 1830 to baptize members of the Knight family and others on the following Sunday (27 June). However, baptisms were delayed a day when opponents destroyed the dam that had been constructed for this purpose. Moreover, Presbyterian minister John Sherer tried to prevent the baptism of one of his members, Emily Colburn. On 30 June, largely under the instigation of the Presbyterians, Smith was arrested by Constable Ebenezer Hatch for "disorderly conduct." On 1 July, Smith appeared before Justice Joseph Chamberlin for a pre-trial examination. Joseph Knight hired James Davidson and John Reed to defend Smith (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 8). While Smith claimed he was arrested "on a warrant, on charge of being a disorderly person; of setting the country in an uproar by preaching the Book of Mormon" (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 44), more accurately, he was retried on the same charge he had narrowly escaped in March 1826 (see IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). His preaching may have aroused his enemies, but it was not the legal basis for which he was arrested and examined. Joseph Knight remembered that he was arrested for "pertending to see under ground" and that his enemies had found "a little Clause ... in the [New] york Laws against such things." Reed added that his client had been arrested "for the crime of glass looking and juglin fortune telling and so on which the State of New York was against it and made it a crime and the crime was a fine and imprisonment" (IV.D.1, JOHN S. REED TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, 6 DEC 1861, 1).

The warrant was initiated by Abram W. Benton, who wrote that during the 1830 trial "it was shown that the Book of Mormon was brought to light by the same magic power by which he [Smith] pretended to tell fortunes, discover hidden treasures, &c." (IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831; I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 162). According to Justice Noble, before whom Smith appeared the following day in Colesville, "Jo. plead in bar Statue of Limitations" (IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 2). Wesley P. Walters noted, "The law limited the time for prosecution of a misdemeanor to three years, ... while four had elapsed. The prosecution may have felt it still had a case since part of that time Joseph had been living in Harmony, Pa., and the law did not reckon the time spent outside the state as a part of the three year limitation" (Walters 1977, 129n25; *Laws of the State of New York, Revised,* 1813, 1:187, sec. 7). In other words, Benton and others intended to finish the legal process begun in 1826 but not completed. Smith's defense proved successful. After the examination, which lasted an entire day, Smith was dismissed, then rearrested and taken to Colesville on the same charge. The trial was held on 2 July 1830 before Justice Noble, who also acquitted him.[1]

The following bill, submitted by Justice Chamberlin to the County Board of Supervisors for cases examined or tried between 1 June and 20 October 1830, includes the first of Smith's two July 1830 court appearances.

Bainbridge 1st of June 1830

County of Chenango to J P Chamberlin Dr

	People)	on Complaint of Roswell Aylsworth	
	vs)	5 Subpoenes	$0[.]30
.50	~~Ernest E Aylsworth~~)	to Examination half Day	50
	<Daniel L Craig>)	to Swearing 4 witnesses	24
	assault & Batry)		
	Same)	oath on Complaint	6
03	vs)	filing Complaint	3
	George Eliat)	warrant	19
	for Surety of the peace)	Recogn[i]sance	25
	June 12th 1830)		

---

1. For more information on Smith's trial, see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 44-45; I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:Frag. 6; 1853:157; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 55-56; IV.C.6, JOHN S. REED REMINISCENCE, 1844; IV.D.1,

	Same)	oath on Complaint	6[2]
03	vs)	filing Complaint	3[3]
	Joseph Smith Jr)	warrant	19[4]
1.00	a Disorderly person)	Examination 1 Day	1[.]00[5]
	July 1st 1830)	10 Subpoenes	60[6]
		Swearing 12 witnesses	72[7]
	Same)		
	vs)		
	Jedediah H Lewis)	2 oath on Complaint	12
03	on oath of J Williams)	filing Complaint	3
	Surites of Peace)	warrant	
	Oct 20th 1830)	Recognizanc[e]	25
	Same)	on oath & Complaint of Ira Aylsworth	
	vs)	swearing 4 wts on Examination	24
	Nelson [Th]elsey)	3 Subpoenes	
	assault & Batry)	Notes to Wm Banks &	
	Aug 16th 1830)	Ezra W Corbin Esquirs	12
Same Case as above Court of Special Session			
		Venira to Summon a Jury	25
		Swearing Jury	25
		Swearing 3 witnesses	18
		3 Subpoenes	18
		for a trial fee or attendance to each Justice $1	3[.]00

JOHN S. REED TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, 6 DEC 1861; IV.C.2, ABRAM W. BENTON REMINISCENCE, MAR 1831; IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843; and IV.F.5, EBENEZER HATCH BILL OF COSTS, 4 JUL 1830.

2. Chamberlin routinely charged six cents for an "oath on Complaint," taking the complainant's statement.

3. Chamberlin routinely charged three cents for filing a complaint.

4. The standard fee for issuing a warrant was nineteen cents (Waterman 1825, 199; cf. Walters 1974, 137; IV.F.2, ALBERT NEELY BILL OF COSTS, 20 MAR 1826).

5. From other cases on the same bill, it is evident that Chamberlin charged fifty cents for a half-day examination and $1.00 when it ran an entire day.

6. Chamberlin routinely charged six cents for each subpoena.

7. Chamberlin routinely charged six cents for swearing in witnesses.

1.59[8]			8.96
			1.59
			$7.37
			[p. 1]
	People	) on oath & Complaint of Daniel W Garret	
	vs	) oath on Complaint	$0[.]06
.03	[-] Blowers	) filing Complaint	3
	Petty Larceny	) warrant	19
		Notifying Wm Banks & Ezra W Borbin Esqrs	12
	same as above	Court of Special Sessions for a trial fee or attendance to Each Justice $1	3[.]00
		for a Warrant of Commitment on conviction	25
		for Drawin[g] up a Record of Conviction & Causing the same to be filed in the Clerks office	75
			4[.]40
1.62		amount Brot over	8[.]96
			13.36
			1.62
		Jos P Chamberlin Justice	$11.74

[*Remainder written sideways at bottom of page 2 and meant to appear on the outside when the sheet was folded and filed*]

Jos P Chamberlin
a[ccoun]t
to County $13.36
$11.74
Passed

8. A total of $1.59 was deducted from Chamberlin's bill: fifty cents "[t]o Examination half Day"; three cents for three "filing Complaint[s]"; and $1.00 for "Examination 1 Day." It is unknown why these items were deducted from Chamberlin's total.

5.
EBENEZER HATCH BILL OF COSTS, 4 JULY 1830

Ebenezer Hatch, Bill of Costs, 1830, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Ebenezer Hatch was the constable for Chenango County. He arrested Joseph Smith on 30 June 1830, held him over night, and brought him before Justice Joseph P. Chamberlin on a charge of being a "disorderly person" (see IV.F.4, JOSEPH CHAMBERLIN BILL OF COSTS, 1 JUL 1830). He is listed, in his forties, in the 1830 census of South Bainbridge, Chenango County (1830:4).

County of Chenango
To Ebenezer Hatch

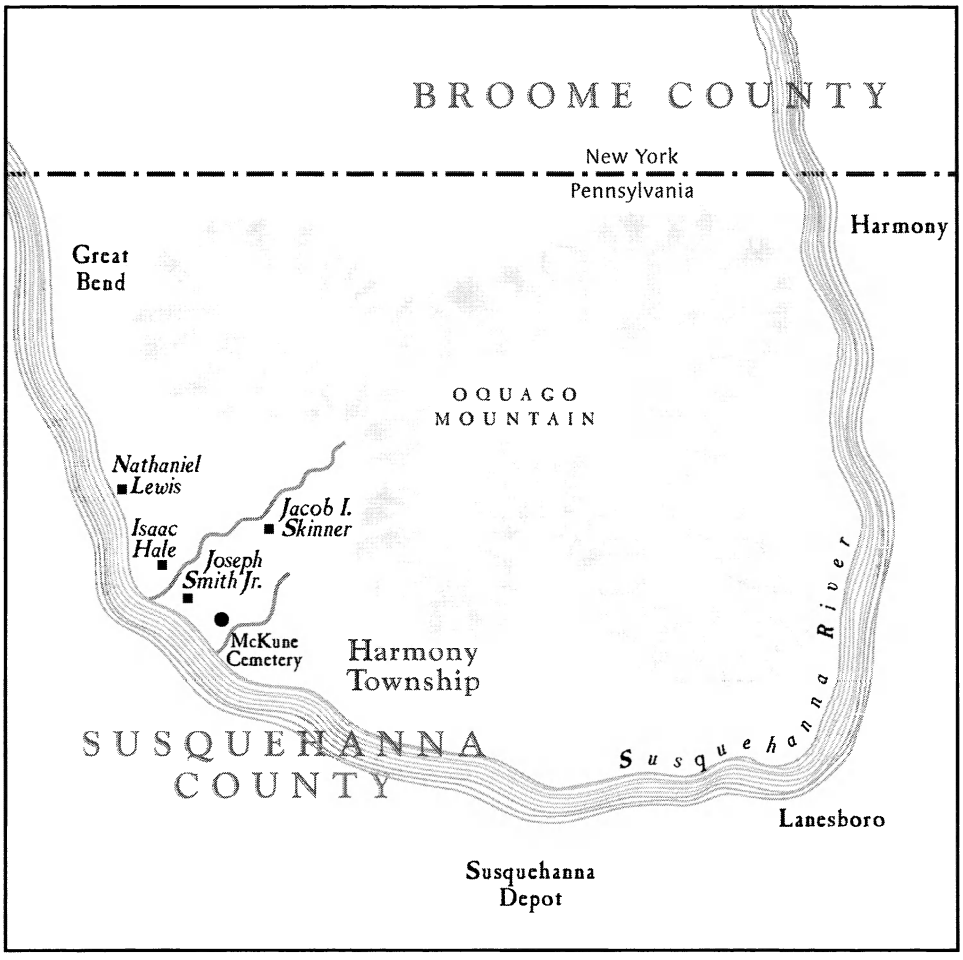
To Serving warrant on Joseph Smith & keeping him twenty four hours	$2.00
3 meals Victuel & 1 Lodging	.50
Suppoenying 5 witness	.62½
	$3.13½
	75
	$2.37½

Dated at South Bainbridge July
4th 1830

PART V.

§

Mormon Origins in Harmony, PENNSYLVANIA



Map of Harmony, Pennsylvania.

INTRODUCTION TO HARMONY, PENNSYLVANIA, DOCUMENTS

Joseph Smith's first introduction to Harmony, Pennsylvania, came about 1 November 1825 when a money digging company, sponsored by Josiah Stowell of South Bainbridge, New York, was formed (V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825). While visiting his son Simpson in Manchester, New York, Josiah Stowell learned of Smith's talent for seeing buried treasure and hired him on the spot. The company boarded at the home of Isaac Hale; they disbanded about 17 November (V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834), although Smith continued in Stowell's employ, searching for treasure along the Susquehanna River north of Harmony in the New York towns of South Bainbridge, Colesville, and Windsor. Following his arrest and examination before Justice Neely on 20 March 1826, Smith returned to his home in Manchester.

Smith returned to the area about November 1826, boarding with Joseph Knight in Colesville. Besides working for Knight, Smith courted Emma Hale, Isaac Hale's daughter, whom Smith had met the previous year while boarding at her father's home. Borrowing a horse and cutter from Joseph Knight, Smith took Emma from her father's house while he was at church. The couple was married by Squire Tarbell (or Tarble) at South Bainbridge on 18 January 1827 against the wishes of Emma's parents (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847; V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834; see also IV.D.10, WILLIAM R. HINE STATEMENT, CIRCA MAR 1885). Immediately after the marriage, Stowell helped convey Joseph and Emma to Manchester, where they moved in with Joseph's parents.

In August 1827, Joseph, Emma, and Peter Ingersoll retrieved some of Emma's furniture and other belongings from her parents' house. According to Ingersoll and Isaac Hale, a confrontation erupted between Smith and his father-in-law, during which Smith promised to give up money digging and stone gazing. In return, Hale promised to help get the couple established in Harmony (III.A.9, PETER INGERSOLL STATEMENT, 2 DEC 1833; V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834). Harassment in Manchester following his obtaining the Book of Mormon plates in September perhaps convinced Smith to take his father-in-law up on his offer. Emma's brother Alva Hale came to Manchester to help her and Joseph move, along with the

assistance of $50 from Martin Harris. The three departed for Pennsylvania in December 1827 (I.A.7, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1832, 5).

The couple evidently lived with Emma's father at first but soon took up residence in a home formerly occupied by Emma's oldest brother Jesse (see I.F.3, EMMA SMITH BIDAMON INTERVIEW WITH JOSEPH SMITH, III, FEB 1879, 289). Later, on 6 April 1829, Joseph would sign a land agreement with his father-in-law for $200 for the home and thirteen and a half acres of land and would secure title to the land the next year on 25 August 1830 (see V.E.5, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY [PA] LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833). It was in this house that the majority of the Book of Mormon would be drafted.

Between December 1827 and February 1828, Smith prepared samples of "reformed Egyptian" characters which he said were copied from the gold plates (see V.E.2, BOOK OF MORMON CHARACTERS, DEC 1827-FEB 1828). In the latter month, Martin Harris picked up the samples and took them to several scholars in the East, visiting among others the famed linguist Charles Anthon of Columbia University (I.A.7, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1832, 5; I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 9). Despite Smith's and Harris's later claims, Anthon said he could not translate or understand the sample of characters he was shown (V.D.2, CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEB 1834; V.D.3, CHARLES ANTHON TO THOMAS WINTHROP COIT, 3 APR 1841).

Soon after, Smith began translating the Book of Mormon, with Emma and perhaps Reuben Hale acting as scribes (I.F.1, EMMA SMITH BIDAMON INTERVIEW WITH EDMUND C. BRIGGS, 1856; I.F.3, EMMA SMITH BIDAMON INTERVIEW WITH JOSEPH SMITH, III, FEB 1879; IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 4; V.A.8, HIEL LEWIS TO [JAMES T. COBB?], 29 SEP 1879). The translation did not proceed in earnest until about 12 April 1828 when Harris came to act as Smith's full-time scribe (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 9). Smith and Harris worked continuously for about two months, at which time Smith called a break to tend to Emma who was nearing childbirth. Before leaving, Harris pressured Smith into allowing him to take about 116 pages of the translation back to Palmyra to show to his wife, Lucy, and others.

On 15 June, Emma gave birth to an infant son who died the same day (V.E.3, INFANT'S GRAVESTONE, 15 JUN 1828; V.A.8, HIEL LEWIS TO [JAMES T. COBB?], 29 SEP 1879). Joseph attended his sick wife "two weeks" (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:80, 1853:118). Smith may have briefly attended the local Methodist class during this time (see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879, under 30

April 1879 and 11 June 1879). At Emma's insistence, Joseph went to Manchester, probably in early July, to check on the manuscript, only to find that it had been stolen from Harris (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 10; I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:80-84). As a result, Smith was severely reprimanded by the book's guardian angel, who took back the gold plates. For a season heaven fell silent.

When the plates were eventually returned to Smith, he found that he could work only sporadically on the translation, spending most of his time laboring on his small farm. He also occasionally received visitors: both parents about September 1828, his father and others in February 1829, Harris in March 1829, and Joseph Knight, Sr., in February and March of that year. On 5 April 1829 Samuel Smith introduced his brother to Oliver Cowdery who had been teaching school and living with the Smith family in Manchester. After questioning the Smiths concerning the stories of Smith's angelic visitations and possession of some gold plates, Cowdery had become convinced that this was God's work. Two days after his arrival in Harmony, he began acting as Smith's new scribe.

During the translation on 15 May 1829, Smith and Cowdery were commanded to baptize one another in the nearby Susquehanna River (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:94). Later, in the mid-1830s, they said that prior to their baptisms they were ordained by an angel who identified himself as John the Baptist (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 17-18; III.F.6, OLIVER COWDERY TO W. W. PHELPS, 7 SEP 1834, 15-16; III.F.16, OLIVER COWDERY COUNCIL BLUFFS TESTIMONY, 21 OCT 1848). While Smith mentioned receiving the "holy Priesthood by the ministring of Aangels" in 1832 (I.A.7, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1832, 1), the visitation of John was not publicly discussed until 1834; those close to Smith, such as David Whitmer, were apparently unaware of the event before that disclosure (VI.A.24, DAVID WHITMER INTERVIEW WITH ZENAS H. GURLEY, 14 JAN 1885; see also Vogel 1988, 105-6). This suggests that the event was either a later invention or a reinterpretation of an earlier vision.

Ten days after the inaugural baptisms, Samuel Smith was also baptized. Hyrum Smith visited Harmony but left unbaptized. Persecution caused Smith and Cowdery to seek a new location for their work. About 1 June, David Whitmer, an acquaintance of Cowdery's, arrived to convey the men to Fayette, New York, where the remainder of the work of translation was completed.

After overseeing the initial phases of the Book of Mormon's printing in Palmyra, Smith returned to Harmony on 4 October 1829 (I.A.1, JOSEPH SMITH TO OLIVER COWDERY, 22 OCT 1829, 1). While he would

venture out to visit Manchester, Fayette, or Colesville, Harmony was his home until about the first part of September 1830 when opposition from Emma's family and relatives again forced his departure. In preparation for the move, he made a number of business transactions. On 25/26 August, he secured title to his Harmony land, and on 26 August he gave a note for $190.95 to George H. Noble and Company (V.E.5, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY [PA] LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833; V.E.6, GEORGE H. NOBLE AND COMPANY VS JOSEPH SMITH, JR., 26 AUG 1830). Newel Knight conveyed Smith and Cowdery to Fayette in early September; Emma soon followed (IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 62; Porter 1971, 170-71, n. 162). Although he did not know it at the time, Smith would never return to live in Harmony. At this point, the center of Mormon activity shifted to Fayette.

The following collection of documents features statements by Emma Smith's father Isaac, her brother Alva, uncle Nathaniel Lewis, cousins Joseph and Hiel Lewis, and brother-in-law Michael Morse, who lived in Harmony during Joseph and Emma's residence. Also included are statements of other Harmony area residents, both early and late, and miscellaneous non-resident statements pertinent to this period. The miscellaneous documents section includes various land, property tax, judicial, census, and other civil records, as well as the so-called "Money-digging Agreement" of 1 November 1825 and the transcription of Book of Mormon characters.

A.
Hale-Lewis Family
COLLECTION

1.
ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834

"Mormonism," *Susquehanna Register, and Northern Pennsylvanian* 9 (1 May 1834): 1. Reprinted in *The New York Baptist Register* (Utica, New York) 11 (13 June 1834); and E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed: or, A Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), 262-66.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Isaac Hale (1763-1839), Joseph Smith's father-in-law, was born on 21 March 1763 at Waterbury, Connecticut, and raised in Wells, Vermont. He served in the Revolutionary War. His marriage to Elizabeth Lewis (1767-1842) in 1789 produced nine children. The Hales moved to Harmony in 1791 along with other members of their extended families. Methodist minister George Peck described Hale as a "mighty hunter" who "slaughtered about a hundred deer annually, most of which he sent to the Philadelphia market" (G. Peck 1874, 67-68). Membership records of the First Presbyterian Church of Hallstead, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, indicate that the Hales and Lewises were communicants, listing the baptisms of infants Alva Hale and Levi Lewis on 11 January 1797 (Register of Baptisms, 1790-1885, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). The Hales and Lewises subsequently became very active Methodists. Isaac died at Harmony on 11 January 1839 (Jessee 1989, 489; Newel and Avery 1984, 1-8, 102; Porter 1971, 114-18).

Isaac first met his future son-in-law in November 1825 when Smith and other treasure seekers boarded at his home. According to Emily Blackman, Hale was "at first a little deluded about the digging, while he boarded the party" (IV.D.7, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 581; V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825). Hale evidently changed his mind about the business and was distressed when his daughter Emma eloped with Smith to Chenango County, New York, on 18 January 1827. When the couple visited Harmony in August, Hale had an emotional encounter with Smith, during which the latter promised to give up the money digging business. When Joseph and Emma moved to Harmony in December, Hale helped them settle on a small section of his land (see V.E.5, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY [PA] LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833). But Hale saw little distinction between Smith's Book of Mormon project and his

former treasure-seeking activities and eventually grew weary of his son-in-law's obsessions. He joined with others of the family and community to force Smith from Harmony. In early September 1830, Joseph and Emma left for good, moving in with the Whitmer family in Fayette, New York.

Hale's statement was first solicited by Philastus Hurlbut who received it post-marked 22 December 1833. W. R. Hine, who claimed that Hurlbut had written to Hale at his suggestion, said that he heard Hale's letter read by Hurlbut in a public meeting in Ohio. At that meeting, Martin Harris challenged its authenticity, stating that "Hale was old and blind and not capable of writing it." Hine responded to Harris's assertion, stating that "Hale was called the greatest hunter on the Susquehanna, and two years before had killed a black deer and a white bear, which many hunters had tried to kill, also that he was intelligent and knew the Scriptures" (*Naked Truths About Mormonism,* January 1888, 2; see also IV.D.10, WILLIAM R. HINE STATEMENT CIRCA MAR 1885).

Hurlbut did not publish Hale's letter but turned it over, along with other statements, to Ohio publisher E. D. Howe who published them in *Mormonism Unvailed* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834). To verify Hurlbut's research, Howe wrote the following letter of inquiry to Hale:

PAINESVILLE, OHIO FEB. 4, 1834.

Mr. Isaac Hale,—

Dear Sir,—I have a letter with your signature, post-marked Dec. 22, 1833—addressed to D. P. Hurlbut, on the subject of Mormonism. I have taken all the letters and documents from Mr. Hurlbut, with a view to their publication. An astonishing mass has been collected by him and others, who have determined to lay open the imposition to the world. And as the design is to present FACTS, and those well authenticated, and beyond dispute, it is very desirable, that your testimony, whatever it may be, should come authenticated before a magistrate.

Your letter has already been pronounced a *forgery* by the Mormons, who say you are blind and cannot write, even your name. I hope no one has attempted to deceive us; deception and falsehood in the business will do no good in the end, but will help build up the monstrous delusion. We look upon your connexion with Smith, and your knowledge of facts, as very important, in the chain of events,—and if it be your desire to contribute what facts you have, in so desirable an undertaking, I hope you will without delay, have drawn up a full narrative of every transaction wherein

SMITH, jun'r. is concerned and attest them before a magistrate—This is our plan.

E. D. HOWE.
(*Susquehanna Register,* 1 May 1834).

Whether Hale appeared before Justice Dimon on 20 and 21 March 1834 with a copy of his former letter to Hurlbut or with a completely new statement is not entirely clear.

Concerning the circumstances which evoked Hale's original statement, as well as the Mormon reaction and Hale's restatement, the *Susquehanna Register* states: "A Gentleman in the state of Ohio [Philastus Hurlbut], applied to Mr. Hale, of Harmony, for a history of facts relating to the character of Joseph Smith jun., author of the Book of Mormon, called by some the Golden Bible. Mr Hale sent the facts in a letter, and the Mormons pronounced the letter a *forgery*; and said that Isaac Hale was blind, and could not write his *name*,—which was the cause of the taking the accompanying affidavits" (*Susquehanna Register,* 1 May 1834). In affidavits appended to Isaac Hale's statement, Davis Dimock, William Thompson, and Nathaniel Lewis certify to Hale's honesty.[1]

Regarding the authorship of Isaac Hale's first statement, Nathaniel Lewis, Hale's brother-in-law, specifically states in his affidavit that "He [Isaac Hale] is now old, and his arms are somewhat palsied, so that when he desires any thing written, he usually employs one of his sons, although he retains his sight, and is still capable or writing" (V.A.3, NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834). Alva Hale adds that "his father (Isaac Hale) can both see and write, the declarations of the Mormons to the contrary notwithstanding; and that the letter sent by his father, Isaac Hale, to Dr. P. Hurlbut was written by Jesse Hale, his (I[saac]. Hale's) son, and was correct and true" (V.A.2, ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834).

The statements of Isaac and Alva Hale; Nathaniel, Levi, and Sophia Lewis; and Joshua and Hezekiah McKune, as well as E. D. Howe's letter of inquiry, were forwarded to C. L. Ward, editor of the *Susquehanna Register* at Montrose, by "a subscriber." The unnamed source was obviously someone

1. The Rev. John A. Clark of Palmyra, New York, reported in 1842: "While at Palmyra, I met with a respectable clergyman of the Episcopal Church, who had formerly belonged to the Methodist connection, that was acquainted with Mr. Hale. He represented him to be a distinguished hunter, living near the *Great Bend* in Pennsylvania. He was professedly a religious man and a very zealous member of the Methodist Church" (*Episcopal Recorder,* 12 September 1840, 98; cf. Clark 1842, 241-42).

close to the Hale family, perhaps Nathaniel Lewis or Isaac Hale himself. Ward published the statements on 1 May 1834.

I first became acquainted with JOSEPH SMITH, Jr. in November, 1825.[2] He was at that time in the employ of a set of men who were called "money-diggers;" and his occupation was that of seeing, or pretending to see by means of a stone placed in his hat, and his hat closed over his face. In this way he pretended to discover minerals and hidden treasure. His appearance at this time, was that of a careless young man—not very well educated, and very saucy and insolent to his father.[3] Smith, and his father, with several other 'money-diggers' boarded at my house while they were employed in digging for a mine that they supposed had been opened and worked by the Spaniards, many years since. Young Smith gave the 'money-diggers' great encouragement, at first, but when they had arrived in digging, to near the place where he had stated an immense treasure would be found—he said the enchantment was so powerful that he could not see. They then became discouraged, and soon after dispersed. This took place about the 17th of November, 1825; and one of the company gave me his note for $12[.]68 for his board, which is still unpaid.[4]

---

2. Hale's name appears on the money-digging company's "Articles of Agreement," 1 November 1825, Harmony, Pennsylvania (see V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825).

3. Richard L. Bushman believes that Smith and his father argued about money digging: "Their normally amicable relations broke down under their disagreement over treasure hunting. Alva Hale, a son in the household where the Smiths stayed, said Joseph, Jr., told him that the 'gift of seeing with a stone' was 'a gift from God' but that "peeping' was all d—d nonsense.' Alva [Hale] did not grasp the difference and apparently neither did Joseph, Sr." (Bushman 1984, 74). However, it is likely that Alva referred to a statement Smith made upon his return to Harmony in 1827 and subsequent residence there (see V.A.2, ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834). Smith evidently did not change his mind about treasure seeking until after his legal difficulties at South Bainbridge in March 1826, at which time Josiah Stowell testified to Smith's continued efforts to locate hidden treasure through his stone (see IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826). It is also possible that father and son were in competition as treasure seer and rod worker and that the father had yet to accept his son's preeminence. Their equal status in the treasure-digging "Articles of Agreement" seems to suggest that Joseph Sr.'s presence was more than casual (see V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825).

4. Assuming this person boarded with Hale the entire time, 1-17 November, the cost would have been 74½ cents per day.

After these occurrences, young Smith made several visits at my house,[5] and at length asked my consent to his marrying my daughter Emma. This I refused, and gave him my reasons for so doing; some of which were, that he was a stranger, and followed a business that I could not approve; he then left the place. Not long after this, he returned, and while I was absent from home,[6] carried off my daughter, into the state of New York, where they were married[7] without my approbation or consent.[8] After they had arrived at Palmyra N.Y.,[9] Emma wrote to me inquiring whether she could have her property, consisting of clothing, furniture, cows, &c. I replied that her property was safe, and at her disposal. In a short time they returned, bringing with them a Peter Ingersol,[10] and subsequently came to the conclusion that they would move out [here], and reside upon a place near my residence.[11]

Smith stated to me, that he had given up what he called "glass-looking," and that he expected to work hard for a living, and was willing to

---

5. According to some accounts, Smith brought Samuel Lawrence with him to certify to his good character (III.A.14, WILLARD CHASE STATEMENT, CIRCA 11 DEC 1833, 243-44; IV.B.12, LORENZO SAUNDERS INTERVIEW, 17 SEP 1884, 9, 11).

6. Joseph probably picked up Emma on Wednesday, 17 January 1827, the day before their marriage. Hine said that this happened on Sunday (14 January 1827) while Hale was at church (IV.D.10, WILLIAM R. HINE STATEMENT, CIRCA MAR 1885). But the Methodist circuit rider held meetings on Wednesdays (Newell and Avery 1984, 312, n. 3).

7. They were married on 18 January 1827 by Squire Tarble at South Bainbridge, New York.

8. Hale's statement gave rise to the claim that Smith stole his wife, but at twenty-two years old, she was of age. For Joseph's and Emma's reaction to this claim, see I.A.14, JOSEPH SMITH ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS, 8 MAY 1838; and I.F.3, EMMA SMITH BIDAMON INTERVIEW WITH JOSEPH SMITH, III, FEB 1879, 1:4, 2:289.

9. Joseph and Emma arrived in Manchester sometime between 17 and 31 January 1827. Joseph's history says they traveled to Manchester "immediately" after their marriage (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 8), and Lucy Smith remembered their arrival in January (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:58). Josiah Stowell helped them move (see IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847).

10. On Peter Ingersoll (ca. 1789-1867), who said the event took place in August 1827, see introduction to III.A.9, PETER INGERSOLL STATEMENT, 2 DEC 1833.

11. See V.E.5, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY (PA) LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833.

do so.[12] He also made arrangements with my son Alva Hale,[13] to go to Palmyra, and move his (Smith's) furniture &c. to this place. He then returned to Palmyra, and soon after, Alva, agreeable to the arrangement, went up and returned with Smith and his family.[14] Soon after this, I was informed they had brought a wonderful book of Plates down with them. I was shown a box in which it is said they were contained, which had, to all appearances, been used as a glass box of the common sized window-glass.[15] I was allowed to feel the weight of the box, and they gave me to understand, that the book of plates was then in the box—into which, however, I was not allowed to look.

I inquired of Joseph Smith Jr., who was to be the first who would be allowed to see the Book of Plates? He said it was a young child.[16] After this, I became dissatisfied, and informed him that if there was any thing in my house of that description, which I could not be allowed to see, he must take it away; if he did not, I was determined to see it. After that, the Plates were said to be hid in the woods.

About this time,[17] Martin Harris[18] made his appearance upon the stage; and Smith began to interpret the characters or hieroglyphics which he said were engraven upon the plates, while Harris wrote down the interpretation. It was said, that Harris wrote down one hundred and sixteen pages, and lost them. Soon after this happened,[19] Martin Harris informed me that he must have a *greater witness,* and said that he had talked with Joseph about it—

---

12. According to Peter Ingersoll, "Joseph wept, and acknowledged he could not see in a stone now, nor never could; and that his former pretentions in that respect, were all false. He then promised to give up his old habits of digging for money and looking into stones" (III.A.9, PETER INGERSOLL STATEMENT, 2 DEC 1833, 234-35).

13. On Alva Hale (1795-1882), see introduction to V.A.2, ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

14. This apparently took place in December 1827. Concerning the move, see I.A.7, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1832, 5; I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 9; I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:72-73.

15. Perhaps 10 x 12 inches. Martin Harris said it was an old Ontario glass box (III.F.10, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEW WITH JOEL TIFFANY, 1859, 167).

16. Others in Harmony also reported Smith's prediction that his first-born son would be the first to see the plates (see V.A.5, SOPHIA LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; and V.B.1, JOSHUA MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834).

17. About 12 April 1828 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 9).

18. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection."

19. About March 1829.

Joseph informed him that he could not, or durst not show him the plates, but that he (Joseph) would go into the woods where the Book of Plates was, and that after he came back, Harris should follow his track in the snow, and find the Book, and examine it for himself. Harris informed me afterwards, that he followed Smith's directions, and could not find the Plates, and was still dissatisfied.[20]

The next day after this happened, I went to the house where Joseph Smith Jr., lived, and where he and Harris were engaged in their translation of the Book. Each of them had a written piece of paper which they were comparing, and some of the words were "*my servant seeketh a greater witness, but no greater witness can be given him.*" There was also something said about "*three that were to see the thing*"—meaning I supposed, the Book of Plates, and that "*if the three did not go exactly according to orders, the thing would be taken from them.*"[21] I enquired whose words they were, and was informed by Joseph or Emma, (I rather think it was the former) that they were the words of Jesus Christ. I told them then, that I considered the whole of it a delusion, and advised them to abandon it. The manner in which he pretended to read and interpret, was the same as when he looked for the money-diggers, with the stone in his hat, and his hat over his face, while the Book of Plates were at the same time hid in the woods!

After this, Martin Harris went away, and Oliver Cowdry[22] came and wrote for Smith, while he interpreted as above described.[23] This is the same Oliver Cowdry, whose name may be found in the Book of Mormon. Cowdry continued a scribe for Smith until the Book of Mormon was completed as I supposed, and understood.

Joseph Smith Jr. resided near me for some time after this, and I had a good opportunity of becoming acquainted with him, and somewhat acquainted with his associates, and I conscientiously believe from the facts I have detailed, and from many other circumstances, which I do not deem it necessary to relate, that the whole "Book of Mormon" (so called) is a silly

---

20. Probably the same situation described by Martin Harris in III.F.10, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEW WITH JOEL TIFFANY, 1859, 166.

21. Cf. Doctrine and Covenants 5 (hereafter D&C). Perhaps Smith and Harris were comparing the original revelation to a copy Harris wished to take with him.

22. On Oliver Cowdery (1806-50), see "Introduction to Oliver Cowdery Collection."

23. Oliver Cowdery arrived with Samuel Smith on 5 April 1829 (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 13; III.G.6, OLIVER COWDERY TO W. W. PHELPS, 7 SEP 1834, 14).

fabrication of falsehood and wickedness, got up for speculation, and with a design to dupe the credulous and unwary—and in order that its fabricators might live upon the spoils of those who swallowed the deception.

ISAAC HALE.

Affirmed to and subscribed before me, March 20th, 1834.

CHARLES DIMON, *J. Peace.*[24]

[*Separate Statements Appended to the Above*]

State of Pennsylvania,
Susquehanna County, ss.

We, the subscribers, associate Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, in and for said county, do certify that we have been many years personally acquainted with Isaac Hale, of Harmony township in this county, who has attested the foregoing statement; and that he is a man of excellent moral character, and of undoubted veracity. Witness our hands.

WILLIAM THOMPSON.[25]
DAVIS DIMOCK.[26]

March 21st, 1834.

I have been acquainted with Isaac Hale for fifty years, and have never known him guilty of wilfully, or deliberately telling a falsehood. His character for truth and veracity has never been questioned. He has been Supervisor,

---

24. Charles Dimon (1785-1864) came to Susquehanna County with his parents in 1791. He was appointed justice of the peace in 1813. He resigned in 1823 to become a farmer. In 1832 he was again appointed a justice and served until 1850 (Blackman 1873, 61-62).

25. William Thompson (1764-1842), a native of Scotland, came to Great Bend, Susquehanna County, in 1807 (Blackman 1873, 75).

26. Davis Dimock (1776-1858) was born at Rocky Hill, Hartford County, Connecticut. He was baptized a Baptist in 1801 and ordained a minister in 1803. He was active in organizing churches in Susquehanna County and served over the Bridgewater church from 1808 to 1835. In 1848 he retired to Montrose, where he subsequently died (Blackman 1873, 306-308). Concerning Dimock, the *Baptist Register* states: "Eld. Davis Dimock, who certifies to the 'moral character and veracity' of Isaac Hale, the principal witness, we are well acquainted with, and know him to be a man distinguished as a citizen and a Christian. Many

Assessor and Collector, in this town—has kept his own accounts, and made his returns, to the satisfaction of all concerned. But he is now old, and his arms are somewhat palsied, so that when he desires any thing written, he usually employs one of his sons, although he retains his sight, and is still capable of writing.

NATHANIEL LEWIS.[27]

Affirmed and subscribed before me, March 20, 1834.

CHARLES DIMON, *J. Peace.*

State of Pennsylvania,
Susquehanna County, ss.

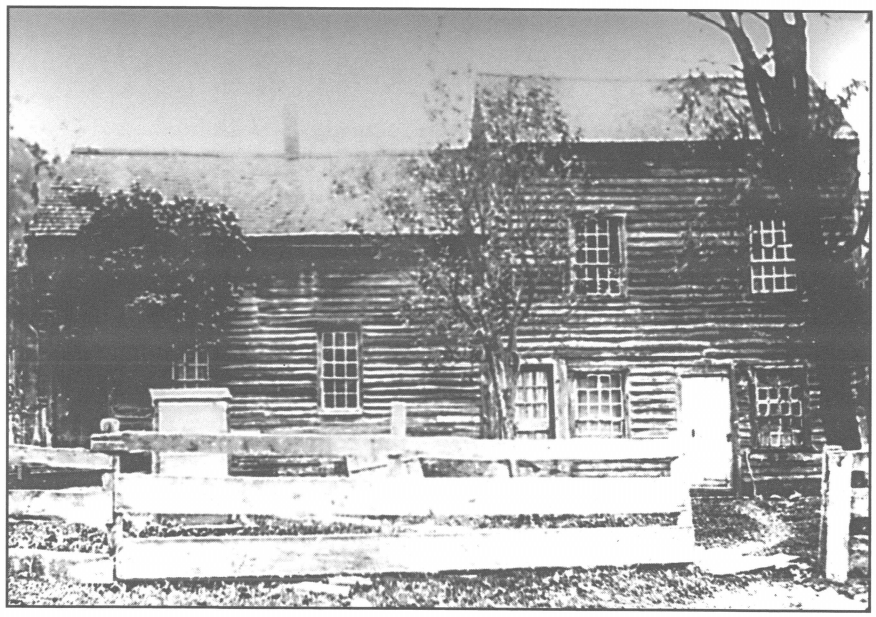
I do hereby certify, that I have been acquainted with Nathaniel Lewis, who affirmed to, and subscribed the above certificate, for these twenty-seven years, last past, and during the whole of that time he has been a respectable minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a man of veracity, and good moral character. Witness my hand, March 21st, 1834.

Wm. THOMPSON,
Associate Judge.

---

of our readers also know him to be a Baptist minister of great worth and consideration. Where his name is known, the certificate of Isaac Hale will need not further support" (13 June 1834).

27. On Nathaniel Lewis (1769-1860), see introduction to V.A.3, NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834.



Joseph Smith home, Harmony, Pennsylvania. The center portion is where Emma gave birth to their first child, Alvin, who died the same day, 15 June 1828. Here Joseph dictated most of the Book of Mormon. Date and photographer unknown. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

2.
ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834

"Mormonism," *Susquehanna Register, and Northern Pennsylvanian* 9 (1 May 1834): 1. Reprinted in *The New York Baptist Register* (Utica, New York) 11 (13 June 1834); and E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed: or, A Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), 268.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Alva(h) Hale (1795-1882), son of Isaac and Elizabeth Hale, was born at Harmony, Pennsylvania. In December 1827 he helped Joseph and Emma Smith move to Harmony from Manchester, New York (V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834; I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:72). On 13 August 1845 he deeded the Hale homestead to William Dayton and soon after moved with other family members to Lee County, Illinois. He lived at China and later Sublette, where he died on 18 April 1882 (see Deeds, Liber 15, 178-79, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania; *Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County,* 1893, 141; *History of Lee County,* 1882, 327, 400; U.S. Census, China, Lee County, Illinois, 1850:103; M. A. Anderson 1929, 305).

The *Susquehanna Register* published only an excerpt from Alva's now lost original affidavit, which was sworn before Justice Charles Dimon on or before 20 March 1834.[1]

ALVA HALE son of Isaac Hale, states, ["]that Joseph Smith Jr. told him that his (Smith's) gift in seeing with a stone and hat, was a gift from God," but also states "that Smith told him at another time that this '*peeping*' was all d—d nonsense. He (Smith) was deceived himself but did not intend to deceive others;—that he intended to quit the business, (of peeping) and labor for his livelihood." That afterwards, Smith told him, ["]he should see the Plates from which he translated the book of Mormon," and accordingly at the time specified by Smith, he (Hale) "called to see the plates, but Smith did not show them, but appeared angry."[2] He further states, ["]that he knows Joseph

---

1. See also V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879 (under 11 June 1879), wherein an 1879 statement by Alva Hale is quoted.

2. Nathaniel Lewis claimed Smith made a similar promise to him (see

Smith Jr. to be an imposter, and a liar, and knows Martin Harris[3] to be a liar likewise.["] That his father (Isaac Hale)[4] can both see and write, the declarations of the Mormons to the contrary notwithstanding; and that the letter sent by his father, Isaac Hale, to Dr. P[hilastus]. Hurlbut[5] was written by Jesse Hale,[6] his (I[saac]. Hale's) son, and was correct and true."

V.A.3, NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; see also V.B.1, JOSHUA MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834; and V.A.4, LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834).

3. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection."

4. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

5. On Philastus Hurlbut (1809-83), see "Introduction to Philastus Hurlbut Collection."

6. On Jesse Hale (1792-1874), see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, n. 185.

3.
NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834

"Mormonism," *Susquehanna Register, and Northern Pennsylvanian* 9 (1 May 1834): 1. Reprinted in *The New York Baptist Register* (Utica, New York) 11 (13 June 1834); and E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed: or, A Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), 266-67.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Nathaniel Lewis (1769-1860) was born in Vermont. He married Sarah Cole (born ca. 1775) on 11 February 1790 at Wells, Vermont, and moved with his brother-in-law Isaac Hale to Harmony, Pennsylvania, about 1791 (Porter 1971, 115). Lewis owned eighty-nine acres of land in 1829 (Harmony Tax Records, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania). He is credited with forming the first Methodist class in Harmony (Blackman 1873, 484-85). About 1843 he moved with other members of his family to Amboy, Lee County, Illinois, where he subsequently died on 26 October 1860 (*Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County,* 1893, 134; Ben E. Lewis to Lewis Family Members, 1952, copy in author's possession).

William Thompson, an associate judge of Susquehanna County, described Lewis as "a respectable minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a man of veracity, and good moral character" (*Susquehanna Register,* 1 May 1834). Albert Clark stated: "Nathaniel Lewis, an ordained local preacher, was deeply pious, shrewd, witty, and at home in the rough-and-tumble polemics of the time. He preached and formed classes at Jackson, Thompson, Starruca and other places" (A. Clark 1912, 11-12). According to Emily C. Blackman, "He was rough as a mountain-crag, but deeply pious. ... He went from house to house inviting the people to come out to meeting. ... Many were pricked in the heart; a great revival followed" (Blackman 1873, 207).

Lewis is likely the "man of the methodist persuasion who professed to be a minister of God" whom Smith described as opposing him in Harmony. According to Smith, this man told Isaac Hale "falsehoods concerning me, of the most shameful nature, which turned the old gentleman and his family so much against us, that they would no longer promise us protection, nor believe our doctrine" (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 53; cf. V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834). Lewis reportedly challenged Smith to translate samples of ancient languages published in Adam Clarke's

Bible Commentary (see V.B.3, GEORGE PECK ACCOUNT, 1843; V.B.1, GEORGE PECK ACCOUNT, 1860). In his statement, Lewis does not hesitate to express his opinion about Smith and Harris, stating that "he ... knows them to be lying impostors" (*Susquehanna Register,* 1 May 1834).

The *Register* published only an excerpt form Lewis's now lost original statement. In an affidavit dated 20 March 1834, Great Bend, Susquehanna County, Abraham Dubois (Justice of the Peace), Jason Wilson (Post Master), and Herbert Leach attest to Lewis's "truth and veracity."

"I have been acquainted with Joseph Smith Jr. for some time: being a relation of his wife, and residing near him, I have had frequent opportunities of conversation with him, and of knowing his opinions and pursuits. From my standing in the Methodist Episcopal Church, I suppose he was careful how he conducted or expressed himself before me. At one time, however, he came to my house, and asked my advice, whether he should proceed to translate the Book of Plates (referred to by Mr. [Isaac] Hale)[1] or not. He said that God had commanded him to translate it, but he was afraid of the people: he remarked, that he was to exhibit the plates to the world, at a certain time, which was then about eighteen months distant. I told him I was not qualified to give advice in such cases. Smith frequently said to me that I should see the plates at the time appointed.[2]

"After the time stipulated, had passed away, Smith being at my house was asked why he did not fulfil his promise [to] show the Golden Plates and prove himself an honest man? He replied that he, himself was deceived, but that a [I] should see them if I were where they were. I reminded him then, that I stated at the time he made the promise, I was fearful 'the enchantment would be so powerful' as to remove the plates, when the time came in which they were to be revealed.

"These circumstances and many others of a similar tenor, embolden me to say that Joseph Smith Jr. is not a man of truth and veracity; and that his general character in this part of the country, is that of an impostor, hypocrite and liar.

NATHANIEL C. LEWIS."[3]

---

1. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

2. Alva Hale claimed Smith made a similar promise to him (see V.A.2, ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834; see also V.B.1, JOSHUA MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834; and V.A.4, LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834).

3. The "C." in Lewis's name in the printed versions of his statement is an

Affirmed and subscribed, before me, March 20th, 1834.

CHARLES DIMON, *J. Peace.*[4]

[*The* Register *includes the following additional statement by Lewis*]

NATHANIEL C. LEWIS states "he has always resided in the same neighborhood with Isaac Hale, and knows him to be a man of truth, and good judgment." He further states, that "he has been acquainted with Joseph Smith Jr. and Martin Harris,[5] and knows them to be lying impostors."

---

error (see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879, under 30 April 1879). Nathaniel C. Lewis (1803-64) was the son of Nathaniel Lewis.

4. On Charles Dimon (1785-1864), see V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834, n. 24.

5. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection."

4.
LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834

"Mormonism," *Susquehanna Register, and Northern Pennsylvanian* 9 (1 May 1834): 1. Reprinted in *The New York Baptist Register* (Utica, New York) 11 (13 June 1834); and E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed: or, A Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), 268-69.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Levi Lewis (ca. 1797-?), son of Nathaniel Lewis, was born at Harmony, Pennsylvania. Levi was a constable (e.g., "The following persons appeared as Constables at November Sessions 1830, and Made their Respective returns ...," Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania; also Constable Bills, 1814-1870, February and November 1830). Lewis evidently moved to Lee County, Illinois, with other family members about 1843 (see introduction to V.A.3, NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834). At age fifty-three, Lewis was listed in the 1850 census of China, Lee County, Illinois, along with his wife Sophia and two children (1850:103; see V.A.5, SOPHIA LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834).

The *Susquehanna Register* published only an excerpt of the now lost original affidavit sworn before Justice Dimon on or before 20 March 1834.

LEVI LEWIS states, that he has "been acquainted with Joseph Smith Jr. and Martin Harris,[1] and that he has heard them both say, adultery was no crime.[2] Harris said he did not blame Smith for his (Smith's) attempt to seduce

---

1. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection."

2. Some have interpreted this to be an early indication of Joseph Smith's interest in plural marriage, albeit in a less formal form than later practiced in Nauvoo (Van Wagoner 1986, 4; Newel and Avery 1984, 64). Indeed, the discussion of polygamy in Jacob 2 of the Book of Mormon, especially the directive in verse 30 that one remain monogamous until God commands otherwise, indicates that plural marriage was being thought about (see also IV.D.16, *AFTON ENTERPRISE,* 20 JUL 1939). That Harris and Smith were Universalists may have contributed to a less rigid view of morals than their neighbors held. On Harris's possible infidelity, see III.A.7, LUCY HARRIS STATEMENT, 29 NOV 1833, 256.

Eliza Winters &c.[3];"—Mr. Lewis says that he "knows Smith to be a liar;—that he saw him (Smith) intoxicated at three different times while he was composing the Book of Mormon,[4] and also that he has heard Smith when driving oxen, use language of the greatest profanity. Mr. Lewis also testifies that he heard Smith say he (Smith) was as good as Jesus Christ;—that it was as bad to injure him as it was to injure Jesus Christ."[5] "With regard to the plates, Smith said God had deceived him—which was the reason he (Smith) did not show the plates."[6]

---

3. Elizabeth Winters Squires, a friend of Emma Smith, was still living in Harmony (now Oakland) in 1887: "Mrs. Eliza Winters Squires, now living in Oakland borough, was often at Smith's house and much in Mrs. Smith's company. The young women were on very intimate terms" (V.D.7, RHAMANTHUS M. STOCKER ACCOUNT, 1887, 554). Winters neither confirmed nor denied Lewis's statement about her, although she was interviewed by Frederick G. Mather in July 1880 (see V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880). Smith was also accused of improper conduct with the daughters of Josiah Stowell (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 45).

4. A complaint was brought against Martin Harris in 1834 for saying "that Joseph [Smith] drank too much liquor when he was translating the Book of Mormon and that he wrestled with many men and threw them." However, the record of the hearing reports that "Bro. Harris said he did not tell Esqr. Russell that bro. Joseph drank too much liquor while translating the book of Mormon, but this thing took place before the book of Mormon was translated. ... (see III.F.5, MARTIN HARRIS KIRTLAND [OH] HIGH COUNCIL HEARING, 12 FEB 1834). As Methodists, the Hales and Lewises probably followed their church's counsel to abstain from alcohol. In 1816 the Methodist General Conference moved that "no station or local preacher shall [use] spirituous or malt Liquor without forfeiting his ministerial character among us" (see Melder 1977, 49-61).

5. See also V.A.5, SOPHIA LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; and V.B.2, HEZEKIAH MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834.

6. See also V.A.2, ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834; and V.A.3, NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834.

5.
SOPHIA LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834

"Mormonism," *Susquehanna Register, and Northern Pennsylvanian* 9 (1 May 1834): 1. Reprinted in *The New York Baptist Register* (Utica, New York) 11 (13 June 1834); and E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed: or, A Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), 269.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Sophia Lewis (ca. 1799-?), wife of Levi Lewis, lived in Harmony, Pennsylvania, until about 1843 when her family moved to Lee County, Illinois (see introduction to V.A.3, NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; V.A.4, LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834). Sophia, age forty-nine, is listed in the 1850 census of China, Lee County, Illinois, along with her husband and two children (1850:103).

The *Susquehanna Register* published only an excerpt from the now lost original affidavit that she swore to before Justice Dimon on or before 20 March 1834.

SOPHIA LEWIS, certifies that she "heard a conversation between Joseph Smith Jr., and the Rev. James B. Roach,[1] in which Smith called Mr. R. a d—d fool. Smith also said in the same conversation that he (Smith) was as good as Jesus Christ[2];" and that she "has frequently heard Smith use profane language.["] She states that she heard Smith say "the Book of Plates could not be opened under penalty of death by any other person but his (Smith's) first-born, which was to be a male."[3] She says she "was present at the birth of this child, and that it was still-born and very much deformed."[4]

---

1. Perhaps James B. Roach, between sixteen and twenty-six years of age, listed in the 1820 census of Bridgewater, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania (1820:9).

2. See V.A.4, LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; and V.B.2, HEZEKIAH MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834.

3. See V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834; V.B.1, JOSHUA MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834; and III.A.14, WILLARD CHASE STATEMENT, CIRCA 11 DEC 1833, 247.

4. See Newel and Avery 1984, 314, n. 13; and V.E.3, INFANT'S GRAVESTONE, 15 JUN 1828.

6.
JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879

1. Joseph and Hiel Lewis, "Mormon History. A New Chapter, About to Be Published," *Amboy* [Illinois] *Journal* 24 (30 April 1879): 1.
2. Hiel Lewis, "Review of Mormonism. Rejoinder to Elder Cadwell," *Amboy Journal* 24 (4 June 1879): 1.
3. Joseph Lewis, "Review of Mormonism. Rejoinder to Elder Cadwell," *Amboy Journal* 24 (11 June 1879): 1.
4. Joseph Lewis, [Reply], *Amboy Journal* 24 (30 July 1879): 1.
5. Hiel Lewis, "That Mormon History. Reply to Elder Cadwell," *Amboy Journal* 24 (6 August 1879): 1.

EDITORIAL NOTE

On 30 April 1879, the *Amboy Journal* published a statement by Joseph (1807-82) and Hiel Lewis (born ca. 1817), sons of Nathaniel Lewis and cousins of Emma Smith, who had lived at China and Amboy, Lee County, Illinois, since about 1843 (*Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County,* 1893, 134-40; U.S. Census, China and Amboy, Lee County, Illinois, 1860:104, 114; Ben E. Lewis to Lewis Family Members, 1952, copy in author's possession). Two subsequent publications of their affidavit in the Salt Lake City *Daily Tribune,* 17 October 1879,[1] and German journalist Wilhelm von Ritter Wymetal's 1886 book, *Mormon Portraits,* included details not printed in the *Amboy Journal.* Wymetal claimed he had "copied from the original most carefully" (Wymetal 1886, 81), saying the original belonged to journalist James T. Cobb of Salt Lake City (see also V.D.6, *AMBOY* [IL] *JOURNAL,* 23 APR 1879).

Several of the Lewises' claims were challenged by Edwin Cadwell, an early settler in Lee County and elder in the RLDS church, and William W. Blair, first counselor in the RLDS first presidency, in a series of exchanges published in the *Amboy Journal.*[2] In their first challenge, Cadwell and Blair dismissed as "preposterous" the account of Joseph Smith, Josiah Stowell, and

---

1. My thanks to Dale Broadhurst for bringing this source to my attention.
2. Although published under the name of "Edwin Cadwell," William W. Blair evidently wrote the articles or at least assisted Cadwell (see William W.

others offering animal sacrifice to break the spell on enchanted treasure, although Michael Morse had also told Blair about Smith's animal sacrifice (see V.C.4, MICHAEL MORSE INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM W. BLAIR, 8 MAY 1879). They asserted that the Lewis brothers were too young to remember and that they probably were not present at the events they related. In addition, Cadwell and Blair list some errors of fact, such as that Smith found the plates in an iron chest, that the plates were guarded by a bleeding ghost who knocked Smith down, that Smith's name was on the Methodist class roll for "three days," that he abducted Emma Hale, and that he prayed over Michael Morse's corn field. The Lewises responded separately: Hiel on 4 June and Joseph on 11 June 1879. The rejoinders were in turn responded to by Cadwell and Blair on 9 July. Joseph Lewis made his final reply on 30 July, Hiel Lewis on 6 August.

The Lewises' writings are reproduced here. Because Cadwell and Blair rely on logic and other sources rather than offering new testimony, their writings are not included below; their arguments are easily inferred from the Lewises' rebuttals.

[*1. Joseph and Hiel Lewis Statement, 30 April 1879*]

Statement of Joseph and Hiel Lewis, sons of Rev. Nathaniel Lewis,[3] concerning what they saw and heard of the sayings and doings of the prophet Joseph Smith, jr. while he was engaged in peeping for money and hidden treasures, and translating his gold bible in our neighborhood.

And that during all the time that said Smith was engaged in the above named business, in the township of Harmony, Susquehanna Co., Pa., our home and residence was within one mile of where he lived and transacted his business.

[4]First, we would add our testimony to the truthfulness of the statements

---

Blair, Journal, entries of 10, 13, and 14 May 1879, RLDS Church Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri).

3. On Nathaniel Lewis (1769-1860), see introduction to V.A.3, NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834.

4. The opening paragraph of the affidavit reads differently in the Salt Lake *Daily Tribune* 18 (17 October 1879): 2: "First, we would add our testimony to the truthfulness of the statements of our uncle Isaac Hale, father of Mrs. Emma Smith Bidamon, Alva Hale, her brother, Rev. Nathaniel Lewis, our father, Levi Lewis, our brother, and Sophia Lewis, his wife, and Joshua McKune, husband of Elizabeth McKune, our sister. These, with the exception of Alva Hale and Elizabeth McKune, are dead. They were all living in Susquehanna, Pa., at the time of

of Isaac Hale, Rev. Nathaniel Lewis, (the letter 'C' in his name was inserted by mistake of the person copying the affidavit) Alva Hale, Levi Lewis, and Sophia Lewis, as contained in a somewhat abbreviated form in a book entitled "Mormonism and the Mormons," by Daniel P. Kidder, and published by Lane & Scott, (pages 30 to 35) 200 Mulberry St., New York, 1852.[5] Also the statements of Joshua McKune, and Hezekiah McKune, as found in the history of Susquehanna County, Pa., page 579, by Emily C. Blackman, and published in 1873.[6]

[7]According to our recollection, the starting point of the money digging speculation in our vicinity, in which Joseph Smith, jr. was engaged, was as follows:

We are unable at this time to give precise dates, but some time previous to 1825, a man by the name of Wm. Hale,[8] a distant relative of our uncle Isaac Hale, came to Isaac Hale, and said that he had been informed by a woman named Odle,[9] who claimed to possess the power of seeing under ground, (such persons were then commonly called peepers) that there was great treasures concealed in the hill north-east from his, (Isaac Hale's) house. By her directions, Wm. Hale commenced digging, but being too lazy to work, and too poor, to hire, he obtained a partner by the name of Oliver Harper,[10] of

---

Joe Smith's exploits, and their statements in the book, 'Mormonism exposed by John C. Bennett,' are perfectly reliable in every respect."

5. Daniel P. Kidder reproduced the affidavits from either E. D. Howe's 1834 *Mormonism Unvailed* or Howe's 1840 *History of Mormonism*. See V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834; V.A.3, NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; V.A.2, ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834; V.A.4, LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; and V.A.5, SOPHIA LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834.

6. These statements were taken from E. D. Howe's 1834 *Mormonism Unvailed*. See V.B.1, JOSHUA MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834; and V.B.2, HEZEKIAH MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834.

7. This and the next two paragraphs were deleted from the version that appeared in the Salt Lake City *Daily Tribune* 18 (17 October 1879): 2.

8. On William Hale, see IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880, n. 11.

9. D. Michael Quinn speculates that this seeress might have been "Clary Odell" who was listed in the 1820 census for Harpersfield, Delaware County, New York (Quinn 1998, 49).

10. Oliver Harper (ca. 1784-1824) lived in Windsor Township, Broome County, New York, on the river road about two miles below Windsor Village (Stocker 1887, 573). R. C. Doud claimed that "in 1822 he [Doud] was employed, with thirteen others, by Oliver Harper, to dig for gold" (V.D.5, EMILY

[New] York state, who had the means to hire help. But after a short time, operations were suspended for a time; during the suspension, Wm. Hale heard of peeper Joseph Smith, jr., wrote to him, and soon visited him[11]; he found Smith's representations were so flattering that Smith was either hired or became a partner with Wm. Hale, Oliver Harper,[12] and a man by the name of Stowell,[13] who had some property. They hired men and dug in several places, as described in the history of Susq[uehanna]. Co., page 579.[14] The account given in the said history at page 580,[15] of a pure white dog to be used as a sacrifice to restrain the enchantment, and of the anger of the Almighty at the attempt to palm off on him a white sheep in place of a white dog, is a fair sample of Smith's revelations, and of the God that inspired him. Their

---

BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 581). After Harper was murdered by Jason Treadwell on 11 May 1824 (Blackman 1873, 97, 582-83), the money-diggers made provision for "widow Harper" in their "Articles of Agreement" (V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825). As indicated by his gravestone in a cemetery near Windsor, New York, Harper was a Freemason.

11. It was Josiah Stowell, not William Hale, who visited Smith in October 1825 and hired him (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 8; and I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, 1853:91-92). Stowell had likely heard about Smith through his oldest son, Simpson, who lived in Manchester, New York (see IV.F.1., BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826, n. 24). Since Stowell dated his first acquaintance with Smith to 1825 (see IV.B.1, JOSIAH STOWELL, JR., TO JOHN S. FULLMER, 17 FEB 1843, n. 13), a prior connection with the money diggers seems unlikely. D. Michael Quinn's assertion that Smith was approached by William Hale in 1821/22 and again by Stowell in 1825 is improbable (Quinn 1998, 49, 54-55). Note that in rejoinder #3 below, Joseph Lewis mentions Stowell going to get Smith: "Does Mr. Cadwell believe that Mr. Stowell would go one hundred miles, more or less, to Palmyra, N.Y., to get common laborers to work in Harmony, Pa.?"

12. Because Smith did not arrive at Harmony until about 1 November 1825, at which time the Articles of Agreement were drawn up and signed (V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825), he never worked for or met Harper, who died in May 1824. The Lewises probably followed V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 579-80, as mentioned in the next sentence. Nevertheless, the Lewises point to 1825 for Smith's introduction to Harmony, as does Isaac Hale (V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834).

13. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

14. Susquehanna County historian Emily Blackman mentions R. C. Doud's "opinion" that Smith directed Harper from a distance, but she nevertheless dates Smith's initial participation to 1825 (see V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 579).

15. See V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 580.

digging in several places was in compliance with peeper Smith's revelations, who would attend with his peep-stone in his hat, and his hat drawn over his face, and would tell them how deep they would have to go; but when they would find no trace of the chest of money, he would peep again, and weep like a child, and tell them the enchantment had removed it on account of some sin or thoughtless word; finally the enchantment became so strong that he could not see, and so the business was abandoned. Smith could weep and shed tears in abundance at any time, if he chose.

But while he was engaged in looking through his peep-stone and old white hat, directing the digging for money, and boarding at Uncle Isaac Hale's,[16] he formed an intimacy with Mr. Hale's daughter Emma, and after the abandonment of the money-digging speculation, he consumated the elopement and marriage with the said Emma Hale,[17] and she became his accomplice in his humbug golden bible and Mormon religion.

The statement that the prophet Joseph Smith, jr. made in our hearing, at the commencement of his translating his book, in Harmony, as to the manner of his finding the plates, was as follows:

Our recollection of the precise language may be faulty, but as to the substance, the following is correct:

He said that by a dream he was informed that at such a place in a certain hill, in an iron box,[18] were some gold plates with curious engravings, which

---

16. Smith evidently boarded at Isaac Hale's from about 1 November to 17 November 1825 (see V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825; and V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834). On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

17. On Emma Hale (1804-79), whose marriage to Joseph Smith occurred in South Bainbridge on 18 January 1827, see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

18. Michael Morse corrected the Lewises on this matter, stating that Smith said it was a "stone box" (see V.C.4, MICHAEL MORSE INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM W. BLAIR, 8 MAY 1879). The Lewises possibly confused the Cumorah box with Smith's other accounts of treasure in an iron box (see V.D.7, RHAMANTHUS M. STOCKER ACCOUNT, 1887, 556; see also IV.D.13, HARVEY BAKER REMINISCENCE, 1900; III.J.13, ORLANDO SAUNDERS, WILLIAM VAN CAMP, AND JOHN H. GILBERT INTERVIEW WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880; III.J.5, POMEROY TUCKER REMINISCENCE, 1858; III.J.8, POMEROY TUCKER ACCOUNT, 1867, 20; III.J.15, STEPHEN S. HARDING TO THOMAS GREGG, FEB 1882; and I.A.13, SIDNEY RIGDON ACCOUNT, CIRCA 1836). The error also appears in III.K.6, JAMES GORDON BENNETT ACCOUNT, 1831.

he must get and translate, and write a book; that the plates were to be kept concealed from every human being for a certain time, some two or three years; that he went to the place and dug till he came to the stone that covered the box, when he was knocked down; that he again attempted to remove the stone, and was again knocked down; this attempt was made the third time, and the third time he was knocked down.[19] Then he exclaimed, "Why can't I get it?" or words to that effect; and then he saw a man standing over the spot, which to him appeared like a Spaniard, having a long beard coming down over his breast to about here, (Smith putting his hand to the pit of his stomach)[20] with his (the ghost's) throat cut from ear to ear, and the blood streaming down,[21] who told him that he could not get it alone; that another person whom he, Smith, would know at first sight, must come with him, and then he could get it. And when Smith saw Miss Emma Hale, he knew that she was the person, and that after they were married, she went with him to near the place, and stood with her back toward him, while he dug up the box, which he rolled up in his frock, and she helped carry it home.[22] That in

---

19. Smith's being three times prevented from taking the plates is consistent with other accounts, with the exception that in these accounts, the box is open (see I.A.7, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1832, 4; I.C.1, JOSEPH SMITH, SR., INTERVIEW WITH FAYETTE LAPHAM, 1830, 306; III.G.13, OLIVER COWDERY TO W. W. PHELPS, OCT 1835, 197-98).

20. Joseph Smith, Sr., is said to have described the messenger as "a little old man with a long beard" (III.E.3, *PALMYRA REFLECTOR,* 1829-1831, under 14 February 1831, 102).

21. This description sounds more like the guardian spirit over Captain Kidd's treasure, which the Lewises may have confused with the messenger Smith confronted trying to get the plates. How the Lewises imagined Smith could tell the spirit's throat was cut with such a long beard is puzzling. However, Joseph Smith, Sr., according to another late source, described the spirit guarding the plates as "a very large and tall man ... dressed in an ancient suit of clothes, and the clothes were bloody" (I.C.1, JOSEPH SMITH, SR., INTERVIEW WITH FAYETTE LAPHAM, 1830).

22. This account is similar to others, which state that Smith was told by the messenger to bring his oldest brother, Alvin, on the next annual visit in 1824. But Alvin died before the appointed time. Smith was then told to bring another person and that he would know who when he saw him/her. This turned out to be Emma (see III.A.15, HENRY HARRIS STATEMENT, CIRCA 1833, 252; III.B.15, LORENZO SAUNDERS INTERVIEW, 12 NOV 1884, 16; III.F.1, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEWS WITH JOHN A. CLARK, 1827 & 1828; and IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 1).

the same box with the plates were spectacles; the bows were of gold, and the eyes were stone, and by looking through these sbectacles [spectacles] all the characters on the plates were translated into English.

In all this narrative, there was not one word about "visions of God," or of angels, or heavenly revelations. All his information was by that dream, and that bleeding ghost. The heavenly visions and messages of angels, etc., contained in Mormon books, were after-thoughts, *revised to order.*[23] The moving of Smith from York state to Harmony, Pa., has been stated by Mr. Hale,[24] and while he, Smith, was in Harmony, Pa., translating his book, he made the above statements in our presence to Rev. N[athaniel]. Lewis. It was here also, that he joined the M[ethodist]. E[piscopal]. church. He presented himself in a very serious and humble manner, and the minister, not suspecting evil, put his name on the class book, in the absence of some of the official members, among whom was the undersigned, Joseph Lewis, who, when he learned what was done, took with him Joshua McKune,[25] and had a talk with Smith. They[26] told him plainly that such a character as he was a disgrace to the church, that he could not be a member of the church unless he broke off his sins by repentance, made public confession, renounced his fraudulent and hypocritical practices, and gave some evidence that he intended to reform and conduct himself somewhat nearer like a christian than he had done. They[27] gave him his choice, to go before the class, and publicly ask to have his name stricken from the class book, or stand a disciplinary investigation. He chose the former, and immediately withdrew his name. So his name as a member of the class was on the book only three days.—It was the general opinion that his only object in joining the church was to bolster up his reputation, and gain the sympathy and help of christians; that is, putting on the cloak of religion to serve the devil in.[28]

We will add one more sample of his prophetic power and practice,

---

23. The remainder does not appear in the Salt Lake *Daily Tribune* 18 (17 October 1879): 2.

24. See V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

25. On Joshua McKune, see introduction to V.B.1, JOSHUA MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834.

26. Wymetal reads "We".

27. Wymetal reads "We".

28. Regarding the date of Smith's participation in the Methodist class, Joseph Lewis reported in his 11 June rejoinder that he thought it was in June 1828 (see below). Wymetal reports that Hiel Lewis confirmed this date (Wymetal 1886, 80). Morse, according to Cadwell, said "he [Morse] was the 'leader' of the said 'class' and that to his certain knowledge Smith's name remained on the class

while translating his book. One of the neighbors whom Smith was owing, had a piece of corn on a rather wet and backward piece of ground; and as Smith was owing him, he wanted Smith to help hoe corn. Smith came on but to get clear of the work, and the debt, said: "If I kneel down and pray in your corn, it will grow just as well as if hoed." So he prayed in the corn, and insured its maturity without cultivation, and that the frost would not hurt it. But the corn was a failure in growth, and was killed by the frost.[29]

This sample of prophetic power was related to us by those present, and no one questioned its truth.

JOSEPH LEWIS,
HIEL LEWIS.

---

book (his [Smith's] wife had been a member since she was seven years of age) for about *six months,* when it was simply 'dropped,' as Smith did *not* seek to become a full member" (*Amboy Journal,* 21 May 1879).

In the 1970s Wesley P. Walters attempted to locate the Harmony Methodist records which would have given the date and length of time of Smith's association. He was informed by the local minister that the pre-1850 records had been accidentally burned with some trash. Recent efforts to locate the missing records have also proved unsuccessful.

Concerning Smith's possible motivation for seeking membership, Marvin S. Hill has made the following insightful comment: "I suspect that he [Smith] was trying to please Emma and her family, who had close ties with the Methodists. Perhaps he was trying to make peace with Isaac Hale, on whose property he had recently come to reside. ... [A]ll available evidence suggests Joseph's probationary activity was of a token sort and that he had no deep interest in Methodism in 1828. But if he had been commanded not to join a church, as the 1838 version reads, would he have gone even this far? The 1832 account spares us having to explain this point. In this account the Lord simply tells Joseph 'none doeth good no not one they have turned aside from the Gospel.' With no imperative to shun all churches, he was free in 1828 to become a Methodist probationer if he thought it best to do so. Keep a roof over their heads and peace in the family to allow continued work on the Book of Mormon may have been sufficient motivation" (M. Hill 1983, 6).

Richard L. Bushman has also suggested that Smith attended the meetings "probably to placate her [Emma's] family" (Bushman 1984, 94). Perhaps the death of Emma's child on 15 June also had something to do with it. Membership in the Methodist church was not required for participation in the Wednesday classes (Watson 1987, 108; *Saints' Herald* 26 [15 December 1879]: 376).

29. Cadwell and Blair dismissed this story because no farmer in his right sense would accept such an offer. Under Cadwell's name, but probably resulting from Blair's research, it is argued: "My neighbor [Michael] Morse says *he* is the very man about whom this foolish yarn is told. He says Smith did not pray for his

[Certification][30]

State of Illinois, | ss.
Lee County. |

I, Everett E. Chase, a justice of the peace in and for the county of Lee, State aforesaid, do hereby certify that the above named Joseph Lewis and Hiel Lewis, personally known to me to be reputable[31], truthful and honorable gentlemen[32], came before me and in my presence signed the above statement; and each of them before me made affidavit to each and all of the allegations therein set forth according to their best memory.

EVERETT E. CHASE,
J.P. [Justice of the Peace]

Amboy, Lee County, Illinois, |
April, 23d, 1879. |

We the undersigned hereby certify that we are personally acquainted with Joseph Lewis and Hiel Lewis, that we know them to be in every way worthy of confidence, that they are truthful, honorable Christian gentlemen, and their statements entitled to the fullest credence.

J. B. FELKER, M.D., Mayor of Amboy.
W. H. HASKELL, Ed. and Pub. Amboy Journal.
R. H. MELLEN, Post Master.
R. H. MERRIFIELD, Druggist and Bookseller.
WM. B. ANDRUS, J.P. and Alderman.
ALFRED-TOOKER, Attorney at Law.
J. S. BRIGGS, Druggist and Grocer.

---

corn, nor offer to do so; but that Smith, with J[ohn] Whitmer, came to him in his corn, (which was late, but rank and fine) and requested him to go to a Justice, two miles away, and become his surety on an execution. Mr. Morse objected that he was hoeing his corn, and was anxious to force it forward and avoid loss by early frosts. Mr. Smith replied that he and Whitmer would hoe while Morse was away. To this he consented. And he says nothing was said by anyone present about praying for the corn" (*Amboy Journal,* 21 May 1879). John Whitmer's presence necessarily dates this event to 1830, prior to Smith's removal in September.

30. The certification, which does not appear in the *Amboy Journal,* is supplied by the Salt Lake City *Daily Tribune* 18 (17 October 1879): 2. Wymetal 1886, 81, included Justice Chase's certification but not that of the others.

31. Wymetal 1886, 81, reads "respectable."

32. Wymetal 1886, 81, reads "men."

CHAS. A CHURCH, Jewler.
JOSIAH LITTLE, Banker.

[*2. Hiel Lewis Rejoinder, 4 June 1879*]

Friend Cadwell, you say Messrs. Lewis would have us believe that [Joseph] Smith, [Josiah] Stowell, and others were such idiots as to offer in sacrifice a white dog, etc. Whether fools or idiots, or not, we would have you believe that they did just such absurd things. And it is no greater stretch of credulity than it is to believe what you and others do of Joseph Smith. The facts are that the sacrifice of white dogs, black sluts, black cats, and such like was an indispensable part or appendage of the art which Smith, the embryo prophet, was then practicing.[33] He claimed to possess the supernatural power of second sight, or to see things at a distance, and deep under ground, and his frequent references to "*the enchantment,*" proves that he was a conjurer, a sorcerer, which Webster defines as "an enchanter," and sorcery as witchcraft, or intercourse with the devil. That this was his occupation has been proven by his father-in-law, Isaac Hale, and many others, relatives and friends. Mr. Hale says in his affidavit, "Smith's occupation was that of seeing, or pretending to see by means of a stone in his hat, and his hat closed over his face."[34] In this way he gave directions where and how to dig, (for the chest of money) and when the workmen failed to find the treasure at the designated place, he would make those engaged in the work believe that "the enchantment" had removed the treasure to another place.

The history of Susquehanna County has a plat of these diggings, the principal excavation, and four smaller ones, on the farm now owned by J[acob]. I. Skinner, some of them not wholly obliterated to this day.[35] Now, as Smith could see the enchantment remove the deposits, and gave directions where next to dig, and how to proceed, he must of necessity give directions what sacrifice was necessary to propitiate the *enchantment.*—So we have no reason to doubt the truth of the statement about the white dog, and the black slut, and that something of the kind took place each time the enchantment removed the treasure. It is hard to believe that men of common intelligence

---

33. Justice Joel K. Noble mentioned testimony given about the sacrifice of a black dog (IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 2; see also IV.D.7, EMILY [COLBURN] AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 32-33; cf. V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 580).

34. See V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

35. See V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 581-82.

could believe that Smith could thus see, and believe in his conjuration; be so foolish as to spend thousands of dollars in such a way; but Smith translated his book of Mormon, mostly with this same peep stone and hat—he, sitting in his house, and the plates hid far away; and it is just as hard to believe in this inspired translation as to believe in the fact and efficacy of his dog sacrifices.—Friend Cadwell, for you or Mr. [Michael] Morse,[36] or any other person to state that you never heard of, or knew anything of certain alleged transaction, is no evidence against the truth of those who do know, have seen, and heard. That is, your ignorance cannot be admitted as conclusive proof against what others have seen and heard. Neither is bombast and ridicule argument or evidence.

We know that nine tenths of Smith's inspired utterances, while in Harmony, Pa., proved false, and his miraculous power a sham, yet there were some besides the money diggers, who believed that Smith was what he claimed to be, "nearly equal to Jesus Christ."[37] That he had power to raise the dead, and if they were to throw away either the old bible or the book of Mormon, it would [should] be the bible. Friend Cadwell, you look upon the reports of Smith's money peeping, dog sacrifice, etc. as so foolish and wicked that you cannot believe that he or any other person could be thus employed. And yet you believe that he, Smith, was the prophet of God, and by inspiration translated the book of Mormon, and that his inspired qualities should be measured by the number of his followers. Now apply this same measurement to Mohammed, and his millions of followers. You will not allow that Mohammed was anything but a false prophet. Smith translated the book of Mormon by means of the same peep stone, and under the same inspiration that directed his enchantments and dog sacrifices; it was all by the same spirit. Christ says "by their fruits ye shall know them;" and by the application of Christ's rule, we know that Smith was a fasle [false] prophet, to be sure, not equal to Mahommed. Friend Cadwell, I accord to you honesty and sincerity. Let me also tell you that you are laboring under a delusion. Again you say Messrs. Lewis were quite young, but mere boys,—were not actors, and took no part in the matters they claim to remember so well.—Elder, you are again testifying about matters that you know nothing about. I was the younger of these "mere boys." Let me say, I was then old enough to do a man's day's

---

36. On Michael Morse (ca.1804-?), see introduction to V.C.4, MICHAEL MORSE INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM W. BLAIR, 8 MAY 1879.

37. See V.A.5, SOPHIA LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; V.A.4, LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; and V.B.2, HEZEKIAH MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834.

work, and did so, using Smith's oxen and plow, and plowed some very stony ground, and well remember Uncle Isaac Hale's remarks about Smith's plow I was using. Just how Smith obtained said oxen I am unable from *personal* knowledge to tell. But undisputed report was that Smith said to one of his disciples, (in another place) "The Lord says you must give me those oxen," and the disciple did as he was requested.[38]

As to Mr. Morse's statement that the box containing the plates was stone, not iron, it may be correct, at least the outside box. I stated in the former article that it was while Smith was trying to remove the stone that covered the box that he was knocked down, etc., but the statement of the bleeding ghost and all the transactions stated were substantially correct, and can be verified by other living witnesses in this country; and that Mr. Morse heard no such statement, but another, amounts to nothing. Smith was in the habit of telling different and contradictory stories, on many occasions. Alva Hale,[39] Smith's brother-in-law, says Smith told him that his (Smith's) gift of seeing with a stone and hat was a "gift from God," but also states "that Smith told him at another time that this peeping was all d—n nonsense.["][40] Now if people will disbelieve the truth of the statements of all the witnesses that have set forth the operations of said Smith while in Harmony, Pa., by the same rule they can discredit the truth of any and all that creditable witnesses have said on any subject whatever. And the scripture found in 1 Thess. 2-10, is applicable to them: "Because they receive not the LOVE of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusions, that they all should be damned."

HIEL LEWIS.

[*3. Joseph Lewis Rejoinder, 11 June 1879*]

With regard to Smith's joining the M[ethodist]. E[piscopal]. church, Messrs. Cadwell and Morse have undertaken to make it appear that we misrepresented the case. The facts are these: I, with Joshua McKune, a local

---

38. The matter of how Smith obtained the oxen was brought up at the 1830 trial in Colesville (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 45). The Harmony assessment records show that Smith owned a cow in 1828-29, two cows in 1830, but no oxen (see V.E.4, HARMONY [PA] ASSESSMENT RECORDS, 1828-1831).

39. On Alva Hale (1795-1882), see introduction to V.A.2, ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

40. See V.A.2, ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

preacher at that time, I think in June, 1828, heard on Saturday, that Joe Smith had joined the church on Wednesday[41] afternoon, (as it was customary in those days to have circuit preaching at my father's house on [a] weekday). We thought it was a disgrace to the church to have a practicing necromancer, a dealer in enchantments and bleeding ghosts, in it. So on Sunday[42] we went to father's [Nathaniel Lewis],[43] the place of meeting that day, and got there in season to see Smith and talked with him some time in father's shop before the meeting. Told him that his occupation, habits, and moral character were at variance with the discipline, that his name would be a disgrace to the church, that there should have been recantation, confession, and at least promised reformation.—That he could that day publicly ask that his name be stricken from the class book, or stand an investigation. He chose the former, and did that very day make the request that his name be taken off the class-book, Michael B. Morse to the contrary notwithstanding. And if said Morse was leader at that time, and Smith's name remained on the class-book six months, the class leader carelessly or wickedly neglected his duty.[44]

THAT PRAYER GAUGE.

On Sunday, the 18th day of May, 1879, I spoke to Mr. Morse while on the sidewalk in front of the M[ethodist]. E[piscopal]. church in Amboy, Ill. on the subject of what we had written on Mormonism, which appeared in the JOURNAL of April 30th. He said it would have been better if we had written it as it was. He said Smith was not owing him, and didn't come to hoe. "Well," said I, "did Smith pray in your corn and insure it?" He said Smith did that. The corn was good, but late, and the frost killed it. Put this with the statement of A. G. Skinner to Hiel Lewis.

STATEMENT OF A. G. SKINNER, MAY 24, '79.

Mr. Michael B. Morse told me while we were both living in Penn., that

---

41. If Lewis remembers correctly, the most probable dates are either 18 or 25 June, after Martin Harris's departure and the death of Smith's son (15 June 1828). It is possible that the Lewises were mistaken and that the event occurreda fter the translation manuscript was lost and Smith returned from Manchester, evidently in late June or early July (see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, 1853:119).

42. Following the Lewises' dating, this event would have fallen on either 21 or 28 June 1828 (see note 34 above).

43. On Nathaniel Lewis (1769-1860), see introduction to V.A.3, NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834.

44. The Lewises are probably correct because it seems unlikely that Smith would have attended the Methodist class for more than a brief period.

Joseph Smith and another man came to him while he was hoeing his corn, and they requested him, Morse, to go to Lanesborough and be security for Smith. Morse said he must hoe his corn, but after some urging consented to do so, on their offering to hoe for him while he was gone. On his return, he found they had not hoed, and Smith gave as a reason that he had prayed in the corn, and that it would grow just as well as if hoed, and that he would warrant it against the frost."

Skinner, if necessary, will swear to his statement.

The history of Susquehanna Co., in closing the account of Smith's praying in this corn, says:

"When the prophet's attention was called to the matter, he got out of the difficulty by saying that he made a mistake, and had put a curse on the corn instead of a blessing. Rather an un-neighborly act, and paid for, too."[45]

The above statements show that the Elder [Cadwell] has misrepresented this case.

As to Messrs. Lewis being mere boys, and therefore incompetent witnesses, etc. I was only sixteen months younger than the prophet Smith. And about Mr. [Josiah] Stowell hiring young Smith as a common laborer in digging for money. Does Mr. Cadwell believe that Mr. [Josiah] Stowell would go one hundred miles, more or less, to Palmyra, N.Y., to get common laborers to work in Harmony, Pa.?[46] Is this not a little *thin?* Mr. Alva Hale says: "Joe Smith never handled one shovel full of earth in those diggings. All that Smith did was to peep with stone and hat, and give directions where and how to dig, and when and where the enchantment removed the treasure. That Smith said if he should work with his hands at digging there, he would lose the power to see with the stone."[47] Facts are stubborn things, and it is a well attested fact that Stowell and others spent thousands of dollars in those diggings,[48] and all by the directions of said Smith, because they were foolish enough to believe what he said about the the treasure, and the enchantment

---

45. See V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 580.

46. Stowell evidently went to Palmyra to visit his son Simpson and while there heard of Smith's ability with the stone (V.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 20 MAR 1826; I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, 1853:91-92). However, this conflicts with the Lewises' previous statement that William Hale was the one who went to Palmyra.

47. This is not part of Alva Hale's published statement (cf. V.A.2, ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834). Evidently, it is something Hale said to Lewis in 1879. Hale was still alive and residing in the same county as Lewis, and Lewis later quotes Hale's response to one of Cadwell's statements (see below).

48. Concerning Stowell's financial loss in the treasure-seeking venture, see IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877.

conveying said treasure, *under ground, through rocks and earth, without displacing any of these obstructions, or even leaving a trace of its passage.* And certainly it was no greater stretch of faith to follow his directions as to what sacrifice, whether white dog, man, or black slut, was necessary to control said enchantment. The same unreasoning, and blind credulity has led *others* to believe that this same Joseph Smith, jr., was a prophet of the Lord, and by inspiration found and translated his golden bible, it is a fact that he translated nearly all of it with this same stone and hat.

Again Mr. Cadwell says, "It was under the influence of her (Mrs. Joseph [Emma] Smith) secret prayers, when but seven or eight years of age, that her deistical father, who accidentally overheard her, was converted to faith in the divine mission of Christ."[49]

Mr. Alva Hale says: "There is not a word of truth in this statement of Elder Cadwell. That his father Isaac Hale, was converted, joined the church, and he believes was class-leader, before his daughter Emma (the wife of Joseph Smith) was born. Again, the Elder [Cadwell] says, "Mormon preachers don't believe in 'Hell,'" and would have us believe that such disbelief is conclusive evidence that there is no such place, and that all reports that have reference to or about hell are mere fictions, and without foundation in truth.

JOSEPH LEWIS.

[*4. Joseph Lewis Reply, 30 July 1879*]

I wish to inform the readers of the JOURNAL that while Mr. Cadwell, in the last week's JOURNAL, accuses me of being a mere boy and not old enough to know anything reliable, or capable of telling the truth on such an important subject as Mormonism, I will not take the Mormon method of arguing by accusing others of lying, but will merely say that Joseph Smith was born in Dec. 1805, while I saw the light April 15th, 1807. Now as Mr. C[adwell]. professes to know how to reckon, he will perceive that there is less than a year and a half difference in our ages, and that I might have been

---

49. Mark H. Forscutt related the same story about Emma's secret prayer converting her father (see "Commemorative Discourse on the Death of Mrs. Emma Bidamon," *Saints' Herald* 26 [15 July 1879]: 209-17). William Blair said that Michael Morse, who married Emma's sister Tryal, asserted that "[Isaac] Hale always claimed that he was converted from deism to faith in Christ ... by a secret prayer of Emma's" (W. W. Blair to Editors, 22 May 1879, in *Saints' Herald* 20 [15 June 1879]; see also V.C.4, MICHAEL MORSE INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM W. BLAIR, 8 MAY 1879). However, this was disputed by Emma's brother Alva (see below; see also Newell and Avery 1984, 312, n. 7).

quite a lad in 1828; old enough to be allowed my oath. It was not with even the hope of converting a Mormon [away from their faith] that any of those pieces have been written, (for all insane persons think they are sane, while everybody else is crazy) but by request of a man at Salt Lake, who is trying to get at the starting point of Mormonism, and wrote to us for what we knew about it, and it happened to get into the JOURNAL without a request from us; but if it has been, or will be the means of peoples' investigation and inquiry, so that honest people will let so gross a humbug alone, it will answer a very good purpose.

JOSEPH LEWIS.

[*5. Hiel Lewis Reply, 6 August 1879*]

The Elder appears to be under keen concern of mind about my age. Thinks it incredible that young persons, or as he wo'd [would] have it, "mere boys" should be able to see, hear, or remember anything. But it is a fact that *old* people generally have better recollection of what transpired in early life than of recent events. And my brother, "a little boy," (some twenty one years of age). The Elder is a lover of truth and never misrepresents. The statements that I have made about Joe Smith are just as true as though I had been, at that time, one hundred years old. The elder says he would be very glad to have Mr. Lewis, or anyone else, point out one item of them, (Smith's inspired utterances in Harmony,) ["]that is false in fact, or evil in principle." And as the elder has made such vigorous efforts to convince himself that I am not a competent witness, I will give a few extracts from some of the sixty od[d] witnesses, whose testimony is now before me, all personally acquainted with this prophet, while he was residing in the state of N.Y. and Pa., and their testimony taken in the years 1833 to 1835, while fresh in their memory, showing that his character was anything but good; that he was addicted to drink, gross profanity and falsehood, and the statements of those witnesses are of more weight than all the books of doctrines and covenants that have since been manufactured. From these witnesses I give a few samples of Smith's inspired utterances.

Levi Lewis states that he has heard Joseph Smith and Martin Harris both say adultery was no crime. Harris said that "he did not blame Smith for attempting to seduce E. W., (Eliza Winters)." Here was the early seed from which Mormon polygamy developed, and if Mormons see no evil in such things, other people *do*. Levi Lewis further states that he heard Smith say that "he was as good as Jesus Christ."[50]

---

50. See V.A.4, LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834.

This is false in fact and evil in principle. Sophia Lewis certifies that she heard Smith say that the book of plates ["]could not be opened under penalty of death, by any other person but his (Smith's) first-born, which was to be a male." She says she was present at the birth of this child, and that it was still born, and very much deformed.[51] Here is a signal failure of Smith's inspired utterances, and this profetic child was a total failure; and if this prophecy had been from God, the failure should have forever closed the book of plates, under the penalty of death. But Smith was superior to the inspired word, just as he was after that God, the Father, and the son had appeared to him and twice forbade his joining any church, and then in disregard of the positive command of God, he joined the M[ethodist]. E[piscopal]. church.

Hezekiah McKune[52] says that Smith, in delivering his superior and inspired prophetic knowledge, among other things said that "*all* that did not join the Mormons and with them assemble in the promised land within seven years, would all be killed off."[53] Elder, if this inspired utterance had proved true, neither you nor I would be here to discuss Smith's inspiration, that is, if you are fifty-four years old. There is another total failure.

Now elder, don't fly the track, by refering to Smith's prophetic utterances in the book of covenants and doctrines, which was gotten up long after Smith left Harmony, for it was his inspired utterances there and then made that I named. I am in no way responsible for anything contained in that book; anyone could write prophecies of what was in the past, and have the fulfillment sure.

Again the elder says: "Will Mr. Lewis ask us to believe his statements as to what took place fifty-one to fifty-four years ago, when he was a little boy, * * and in respect to others in which he is flatly contradicted by living witnesses?"

I would say that there are no witnesses, living or dead, who have contradicted a single item of our statements, except what the elder has reported that Michael Morse said. In said report the elder makes Mr. Morse *flatly* contradict his own statements, made to other persons on the same subject, both before and after the elder's pretended interview. Mr. Morse is but little, if any, older than Joseph Lewis, that *little boy*.—We cannot accept the elder's

---

51. See V.A.5, SOPHIA LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834.

52. On Hezekiah McKune (1801-84), see introduction to V.B.2, HEZEKIAH MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834.

53. This does not appear in McKune's published statement (see V.B.2, HEZEKIAH MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834). The Lewises evidently received their information directly from him. McKune was living in Lee County at the time.

report when Mr. Morse has repeatedly stated the very reverse to other part[i]es, as already shown in our last article. Also the elder makes Mr. Morse contradict the statement of Mr. Alva Hale, son of Isaac Hale, the father of Mrs. Emma Smith. Mr. Alva Hale was much older than his sister Emma, and gives his testimony from personal knowledge, and says his father was converted under the ministry of Rev. Timothy Lee,[54] before Mrs. Smith was born, and anything that Mr. Morse could say on the subject cannot invalidate the testimony of Mr. Hale made from personal knowledge, as well as from the statements of his father, about what took place long before Mr. Morse was born, or he and his father's family were in Harmony. This is going back farther than when a "little boy." In view of the above facts, all statements coming from Michael Morse, through Elder Cadwell, on this subject are unreliable. It is no new game for Mormons to try to belittle and destroy the testimony of witnesses to Smith's character and conduct. When Mr. Isaac Hale's first statement was published, and when Zion was being planted in Ohio, Joe Smith, or some of his accomplices, to destroy Mr. Hale's statement published that Mr. Isaac Hale was blind and could not write his name. To meet this Mormon lie, Mr. Hale's testimony was taken before Esq. Dimon,[55] March 20th, 1834, and his character and competency certified to by Wm. Thompson[56] and David Dimoc[k],[57] associate judges of the court of common pleas in that county.

HIEL LEWIS.

---

54. Probably Timothy Lee, age seventy-three, listed in the 1850 census of Burnside, Clearfield County, Pennsylvania, as a "Clergyman" (1850:389; cf. 1830:228; 1840:325).

55. On Charles Dimon (1785-1864), see V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834, n. 24.

56. On William Thompson (1764-1842), see V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834, n. 25.

57. On Davis Dimock, see V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834, n. 26.

7.
HIEL LEWIS TO JAMES T. COBB, 11 SEPTEMBER 1879

Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal, *Joseph Smith, the Prophet, His Family and His Friends* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886), 75.

EDITORIAL NOTE

German correspondent Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal[1] included in his 1886 book a short extract from a letter written by Hiel Lewis.[2] In a footnote, Wymetal identified the source: "I quote from a letter of this old gentleman [Hiel Lewis], most kindly furnished to me by my learned friend, James T. Cobb, Esq., who has very great merits in investigating the earliest history of Mormonism. The letter is dated Amboy, Lee Co., Ill., Sept. 11, 1879." The original, from which Wymetal quotes only a portion, has not been located. See also V.A.8, HIEL LEWIS TO [JAMES T. COBB?], 29 SEP 1879.

[11 September 1879]

... The Hale family was greatly exasperated [by Joseph and Emma's "elopement"], and perhaps it would not have been safe for Smith to have shown himself at his father-in-law's house. Emma[3] was or had been the idol or favorite of the family, and they all still felt a strong attachment for her, and the permission to return and reconciliation was effected and accomplished by her and perhaps her sister, Mrs. [Elizabeth] Wasson,[4] who lived near Bainbridge, N.Y. The permission for Smith to return all came from the other side, not from Mr. Isaac Hale[5] or his family in Harmony, Pa. ...

[Hiel Lewis]

---

1. On Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal (1838-96), a German writer living in Salt Lake City, see III.H.4, JOHN H. GILBERT TO JAMES T. COBB, 14 OCT 1879, n. 1.

2. On Hiel Lewis (ca. 1817-?), see introduction to V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879.

3. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

4. On Elizabeth Hale Wasson (1800-74), sister of Emma Hale Smith, see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, n. 190.

5. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

8.
HIEL LEWIS TO [JAMES T. COBB?], 29 SEPTEMBER 1879

Hiel Lewis to [James T. Cobb?], 29 September 1879, Salt Lake City *Daily Tribune* 18 (17 October 1879): 2.

EDITORIAL NOTE

On 17 October 1879 under the title "Prophet Smith's Family Relations," Salt Lake City's *Daily Tribune* quoted various comments from Emma Smith's family. In addition to Isaac Hale's statement published by E. D. Howe in 1834 (see V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834), the *Tribune* included the affidavit by Emma's cousins Joseph and Hiel Lewis, previously published in the *Amboy* (Illinois) *Journal,* 30 April 1879 (see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879). The affidavit, dated 23 April 1879, was in the possession of James T. Cobb, a Salt Lake City newspaperman who collected statements about Mormon origins and was probably the author of the article (On James T. Cobb [1834-?], see introduction to I.F.3, EMMA SMITH BIDAMON INTERVIEW WITH JOSEPH SMITH III, FEB 1879). The *Tribune* also published a letter by Hiel Lewis dated "Amboy, Illinois, Sept. 29, 1879," presumably another document in Cobb's possession. My thanks to Dale Broadhurst for bringing this source to my attention.

[Amboy, Illinois, September 29, 1879.]

I will give what I can from my own knowledge and memory and from what I heard at the time. When Emma Hale[1] eloped with Joseph Smith, the Hale family was greatly exasperated, and perhaps it would not have been safe for Smith to have shown himself at his father-in-law's house. Emma was, or had been, the idol, or favorite, of the family, and they all still felt a strong attachment for her. Permission to return and reconciliation were effected and accomplished by her and perhaps her sister, Mrs. Wasson,[2] who lived near

1. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), whose marriage to Joseph Smith occurred in South Bainbridge on 18 January 1827, see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

2. On Elizabeth Hale Wasson (1800-74), see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, n. 190.

Bainbridge, New York. The persuasions for Smith to return all came from the other side, not from Mr. Isaac Hale[3] or his family in Harmony, Pa. The statement of Mr. Hale, made under oath before Esquire Dimon, was strictly true.[4] ★ ★ Reuben Hale[5] is but little older than myself, was living with his father at the time of Smith's money-digging, and wrote for Smith when he first began to translate, before [Martin] Harris[6] came to Harmony.[7] It is true that Alva Hale[8] went with his team to Palmyra, N.Y., one hundred miles or more, and moved Smith and wife to Harmony.[9] It was stated by Alva Hale, at the time, that the "Gold Bible" was in a barrel of beans in his wagon,[10] and that he (Hale) slept in his wagon to guard that barrel of beans and its treasure. I remember hearing my older brother Joseph[11] tell Alva that if he, Joseph Lewis, had been in your place (Alva Hale's) he would have known whether that barrel of beans contained any golden Bible or not, perfectly regardless of Smith's statement that it would be certain death for any one to see the plates. The Hales seemed, for a time, to be kept in awe by Smith's statements, but that awe did not last long. Alva Hale is over eighty and his memory has failed much in a few years past. Some things he remembers distinctly, and some things I have been able to help him to recall; for example, I asked him if he remembered the letter he wrote to Smith and Emma when they eloped. He said no, and had no recollection of writing a letter to them. When told the contents of the letter, which was as follows—"My Creed! I believe in

---

3. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

4. On Isaac Hale's disapproval of Emma's marriage to Smith, see V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

5. On Reuben Hale (1810-?), see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, n. 188.

6. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection."

7. On Reuben Hale as Smith's scribe, see I.F.1, EMMA SMITH BIDAMON INTERVIEW WITH EDMUND C. BRIGGS, 1856; I.F.3, EMMA SMITH BIDAMON INTERVIEW WITH JOSEPH SMITH, III, FEB 1879; IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 4.

8. On Alva Hale (1795-1882), see introduction to V.A.2, ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

9. On Alva Hale helping Joseph and Emma move to Harmony, see V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834; I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:72.

10. On the plates being hidden in a barrel of beans, see V.D.7, RHAMANTHUS M. STOCKER ACCOUNT, 1887, n. 5.

11. On Joseph Lewis (1807-82), see introduction to V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879.

love-powder, in gun-powder and hell fire," he replied, I recollect it as plain as if but yesterday. I asked Alva, on one of our late visits, if he remembered weighing the gold Bible; but he did not. My brother Joseph tried to refresh his memory, but in vain. Joseph remembers hearing it stated by Alva that he (Hale) was permitted to weigh the gold Bible in a pillow case, and, according to our memory, it weighed thirteen pounds![12] There were many persons in Harmony who had from Joe Smith positive promise that they should see the plates and the spectacles, but all say that they never saw them.[13] Alva Hale says he never saw them. I presume he saw that old glass-box that Isaac Hale spoke of, said to contain the plates.[14] Smith's excuse for using his spectacles and hat to translate with, instead of those spectacles, was that he must keep the spectacles concealed; but any and all persons were permitted to inspect the peep-stone; and that he could translate just as well with the stone. My sister Mrs. E[lizabeth]. L. McKune, says:[15]

"I worked in the families of Joseph Smith and uncle Isaac Hale for about nine months, during which time Mrs. Emma Smith had a child which was still-born and much deformed.[16] The dwellings of Mr. Hale and Joseph Smith, jr., were near each other. I saw Smith translating his book by the aid of the stone and hat. Reuben Hale, acted as scribe, writing down the words from Joseph Smith's mouth,[17] but after a short time Martin Harris did the writing. I heard Smith tell his wife Emma that he was nearly equal to Jesus Christ, and was as good to *her* as her Savior.[18] The time when Smith told the story of the bleeding ghost[19] was after the close of the money-digging, after

---

12. Others estimated the weight to be much higher. William Smith said they weighed about sixty pounds (I.D.4, WILLIAM SMITH, *ON MORMONISM*, 1883, 11), while Martin Harris said forty or fifty pounds (III.F.10, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEW WITH JOEL TIFFANY, 1859, 166).

13. For Smith's promise to show the plates, see V.A.2, ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834; V.A.3, NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; V.B.1, JOSHUA MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834; and V.A.4, LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834.

14. See V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

15. Whether Lewis quotes from a document or from his own interview with his sister is unknown.

16. Cf. V.A.5, SOPHIA LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; see also V.E.3, INFANT'S GRAVESTONE, 15 JUNE 1828.

17. See note 5 above.

18. Cf. V.A.4, LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; V.A.5, SOPHIA LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; and V.B.2, HEZEKIAH MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834.

19. On the bleeding ghost, see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879, under 30 April; 4, 11 June 1879.

Smith was married and had moved back to Harmony, and had commenced the translation of his book, I think, either before or about the time that Mrs. Harris[20] had abstracted the 130 pages of their manuscript.[21] The date I cannot precisely recall. I have a distinct recollection about that bleeding ghost."

Your idea that the first start of the book was a money speculation, not a new church, is perfectly correct. Your general idea of Smith's plates is also correct. He had something which he would permit a select few to handle, as they were done up in a cloth, or in a box, but doubtless the plates were something prepared for the occasion. Among the first of Smith's scribes was one Martin Harris who operated in our immediate neighborhood. His residence was then, I, think, in Palmyra, N.Y. He was a man of some property, and his wife was very strongly opposed to his spending his time and money in Smith's speculation, and once, while Harris was writing for Smith, she came to Harmony township and got hold of some of the manuscript they were making and carried it off, or destroyed it, and caused them considerable trouble.

I am able to get near the exact date of Smith's joining the Methodist Episcopal Church.[22] My sister, Elizabeth L. McKune, says she was working in the family of Michael B. Morse[23] the latter part of the winter and spring, and soon after that Joseph Smith, Jr., joined the Church, and while she was working for Mr. Morse he made her a chest and when he painted it put the date, 1828, in red paint on the inside of the chest. She has said chest and date now in her possession. Also my brother Joseph Lewis, from circumstances and business transactions, is able to fix the date to be Harmony, Susquehanna county, Pa., June—1828. The day of the month I am not able to ascertain. We have another witness to Smith's joining the Church, in Elder Cadwell's reply to my statement in the Amboy *Journal*.[24]

Yours Truly,
HIEL LEWIS.

---

20. On Lucy Harris (1792-1837), see introduction to III.A.7, LUCY HARRIS STATEMENT, 29 NOV 1833.

21. On the lost translation manuscript, see discussion in introduction to III.L.16, BOOK OF MORMON PREFACE, 1829.

22. On joining the Methodist class, see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879, n. 28.

23. On Michael Morse (ca. 1804-?), see introduction to V.C.4, MICHAEL MORSE INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM W. BLAIR, 8 MAY 1879.

24. In the *Amboy Journal,* 21 May 1879, Edwin Cadwell quotes the leader of the Methodist class, Michael Morse, that "to his certain knowledge Smith's name remained on the class book ... for about *six months,*" then was "'dropped,' as Smith did *not* seek to become a full member."

B.
Miscellaneous Early
SOURCES

1.
JOSHUA MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834

"Mormonism," *Susquehanna Register, and Northern Pennsylvanian* 9 (1 May 1834): 1. Reprinted in *The New York Baptist Register* (Utica, New York) 11 (13 June 1834); and E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed: or, A Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), 267-68.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Joshua McKune moved to Harmony, Pennsylvania, with his father, Joseph McKune, in 1810. He married Esther Lewis (1793-1878), daughter of Nathaniel Lewis (Ben E. Lewis to Lewis Family Members, 1952, copy in author's possession; Salt Lake City *Daily Tribune* 18 [17 October 1879]: 2). Joshua moved to New Milford Township, Susquehanna County, sometime between 1828 and 1830 (Harmony Tax Records, 1828, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania; U.S. Census, New Milford, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, 1830:93). He is listed, in his forties, in the 1840 census of New Milford (1840:417) and evidently died by 1873 (Blackman 1873, 105).

The *Susquehanna Register* published only an excerpt of his now lost affidavit that was sworn before Justice Charles Dimon on or before 20 March 1834.

JOSHUA M'KUNE states, that he "was acquainted with Joseph Smith Jr. and Martin Harris,[1] during their residence in Harmony, Penn'a., and knew them to be artful seducers;"—That they informed him that "Smith had found a sword, breast-plate, and a pair of spectacles, at the time he found the gold plates"—that "these were to be shown to all the world as evidence of the truth of what was contained in those plates," and that "he (M'Kune) and others should see them at a specified time." He also states that "the time for the exhibition of the Plates, &c. has gone by, and he has not seen them."[2]

---

1. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection."

2. Nathaniel Lewis and Alva Hale remembered a similar claim (see V.A.2, ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834; and V.A.3, NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; see also V.A.4, LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834).

"Joseph Smith, Jr. told him that (Smith's) first-born child was to translate the characters, and hieroglyphics, upon the Plates into our language at the age of three years; but this child was not permitted to live to verify the prediction."[3] He also states, that "he has been intimately acquainted with Isaac Hale[4] twenty-four years, and has always found him to be a man of truth, and good morals."

3. See V.A.5, SOPHIA LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; and III.A.14, WILLARD CHASE STATEMENT, CIRCA 11 DEC 1833, 247.

4. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

2.
HEZEKIAH MCKUNE STATEMENT, 1834

"Mormonism," *Susquehanna Register, and Northern Pennsylvanian* 9 (1 May 1834): 1. Reprinted in *The New York Baptist Register* (Utica, New York) 11 (13 June 1834); and E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed: or, A Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), 268.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Hezekiah McKune (1801-84) was born in Sullivan County, New York. He was the son of Joseph McKune, who moved to Harmony, Pennsylvania, in 1810. He married Elizabeth Lewis (1811-99), daughter of Nathaniel Lewis. In 1845 he moved to Lee County, Illinois, and settled on a farm near Sublette. In 1874 he moved to Lee Center, where he lived until his death (Blackman 1873, 105; *Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County,* 1893, 145; *Dixon* [Illinois] *Daily Telegraph,* 20 February 1884; Ben E. Lewis to Lewis Family Members, 1952, copy in author's possession).

The *Susquehanna Register* published only an excerpt of the affidavit sworn before Justice Charles Dimon on or before 20 March 1834.

HEZEKIAH M'KUNE states, that "in conversation with Joseph Smith Jr., he (Smith) said he was nearly equal to Jesus Christ[1]; that he was a prophet sent by God to bring in the Jews, and that he was the greatest prophet that had ever arisen."

---

1. See also V.A.4, LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; and V.A.5, SOPHIA LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834.

3.
GEORGE PECK ACCOUNT, 1843

Methodist Quarterly Review 3 (January 1843): 112-13.

EDITORIAL NOTE

George Peck (1797-1876) was admitted as a pastor by the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1816 and was ordained a deacon in 1818, an elder in 1820, and served as a circuit preacher from 1820 to 1835. He was also the principal of the Cazenovia (New York) Academy from 1835 to 1838 and presiding elder of the Wyoming (Pennsylvania) Conference from 1852 to 1873. He published several works dealing with Methodist doctrine and served as the editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review* (1840-48) and the *Christian Advocate* (1848-52) (*Who Was Who in America,* 1967, 401).

He apparently never met Joseph Smith, but he was acquainted with Isaac Hale and Nathaniel Lewis, both active Methodists in Pennsylvania. In the following account, Peck relates a story Lewis told him about Joseph Smith.[1]

... The principal actor in the Mormon imposture is Joe Smith, an ignorant, fanatical, and licentious renegade, who, in connection with his father, was impelled by a money-digging mania to visit the mountains of northern Pennsylvania to prosecute his calling—that of discovering secret treasures in the earth by *peeping at a stone in a hat!* Here he married Emma Hale,[2] of Harmony, Susquehannah county, without the consent, and contrary to the wishes, of her parents and friends.[3] Smith's character is proved to have been grossly immoral by the affidavits of his father-in-law, brother-in-law, his wife's uncle, and a cousin; besides a long list of respectable names in the state of New-York where he was raised.[4]

---

1. See also V.B.3, GEORGE PECK ACCOUNT, 1860, where Peck recounts the same story.

2. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

3. Isaac Hale mentioned his disapproval of the marriage (see V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834).

4. Peck refers to the Hurlbut/Howe affidavits from the Palmyra/Man-

The deponents in Pennsylvania we knew well in 1816-17, the first year of our itinerant life. We have a distinct recollection of their [the deponents'] several traits of character, and as clearly have in our mind's eye the present wife of "the prophet." Father [Isaac] Hale,[5] as he was called, was a pious, an honest, and a shrewd man, who settled in that rough region of country in an early period in order to gratify his propensity for hunting. Father [Nathaniel] Lewis[6] is still alive, and it will be a sufficient endorsement of his character to say that he has for many years been an acceptable and a useful local elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Father Hale's house was the preachers' home, and Em [Emma Hale], as she was called in family parlance, acted a subordinate part in the work about house. Elevated, as she now is, we in those old times often partook of a good repast of venison, eels, and buckwheat cakes, prepared by her hands. Our general impression is, that she was of decidedly moderate intellectual caliber—quite below the average grade of the family. But subsequent associations may have wrought in her marked and salutary changes. [p. 112]

When Joe first broached the grand hoax of "the golden Bible," it was talked of solely as *a money-making project.* In a conversation with Rev. N[athaniel]. Lewis, about three years since, he [Lewis] informed us, that the first that he heard of the matter was a sort of vague representation from Joe and Em, that they knew of something that when carried out *would make them and all their friends rich.* And when the story came out about the "gold plates," and the "great spectacles," he (Lewis) asked Joe if any one but himself could translate other languages into English by the aid of his miraculous spectacles? On being answered in the affirmative, he proposed to Joe to let him make the experiment upon some of the strange languages he found in Clarke's Commentary,[7] and stated to him if it was even so, and the experiment proved successful, he would then believe the story about the gold plates. But at this proposition Joe was much offended, and never undertook to convert "uncle Lewis" afterward. ...

The first converts to the new religion were from among Smith's family

---

chester, New York, and Harmony, Pennsylvania, areas (see III.A.1-15 and V.A.1-5).

5. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

6. On Nathaniel Lewis (1769-1860), see introduction to V.A.3, NATHANIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834.

7. Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible ... With a Commentary and Critical Notes,* 6 vols., in many editions both in Britain and America (see, e.g., New York: Ezra Sargent, 1811).

and friends in western New-York. None of his wife's friends in Pennsylvania, with all the prospects of *becoming rich* presented before them, have to this day, as far as we know, become Mormons. This is honorable both to their heads and hearts. ...

C.
Miscellaneous Late
SOURCES

1.
GEORGE PECK ACCOUNT, 1860

George Peck, *Early Methodism within the Bounds of the Old Genesee Conference from 1788 to 1828* (New York: Carlton and Porter, 1860), 332-33.

EDITORIAL NOTE

In this selection, one-time itinerant preacher George Peck recounts the story of Nathaniel Lewis's encounter with Joseph Smith in Harmony, Pennsylvania. For another version of the story and annotation, as well as biographical information on George Peck (1797-1876), see V.B.3, GEORGE PECK ACCOUNT, 1843.

... Joe Smith, the Mormon prophet, married a niece of Mr. [Nathaniel] Lewis. After the story of the golden bible and the miracle-working spectacles had come out, Joe undertook to make a convert of "Uncle Nat." The old gentleman heard his tale with due gravity, and then proceeded: "Joseph, can anybody else translate strange languages by the help of them spectacles?"

"O yes!" was the answer.

"Well now," said Mr. Lewis, "I've got Clarke's Com[p. 332]mentary, and it contains a great many strange languages; now, if you will let me try the spectacles, and if by looking through them I can translate these strange tongues into English, then I'll be one of your disciples."

This was a poser, and the only way Joe had to escape from "Uncle Nat's" net was to get away and run. ...

2.
J. B. Buck Account, Circa 1873

Emily C. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1873), 577.[1]

EDITORIAL NOTE

John B. Buck (ca. 1794-?), son of Captain Ichabod Buck who came to Great Bend in 1788, is listed in the 1850 census of Harford, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, at age fifty-six (1850:333). In 1833 John was elected an elder in the Presbyterian church (Blackman 1873, 60). His interest in the region's history is indicated by a series of historical reminiscences he published in 1868 in the *Susquehanna Journal* newspaper (Blackman 1873, 57). Details of his death are unknown, but Emily Blackman reported in her 1873 book that he was then living at Susquehanna Depot (1873, 208).

This John Buck may be the same "uncle John Buck" known to the Chamberlain family of Willard (Utah?). The Chamberlains received a letter from their father in West Union (Ohio?), dated 27 April 1885:

> I have received a letter from Unkle John Buck[.] he knew Jo Smith[.] unkle says that Jo dug for mony back of Mack kunes [McKune's] place oppisite [Mr.] grimes[.] also up near lains=borouh[.] also up near win<sor> from that he went into ~~wins[or]~~ went to york State whare he pretended to find two golden plates from which he made his morman bible ...[2]

The statement given below is evidently not a personal reminiscence but information Buck gathered from unnamed sources. If Blackman borrowed the statement from Buck's newspaper accounts, it has yet to be located (copies of the *Journal* are extremely rare). While Blackman sometimes pasted the actual clippings into her manuscript, Buck's statement about Joseph Smith is in her own hand.[3]

---

1. Reprinted in Stocker 1887, 555.

2. T. [F.?] A. Chamberlain to Alonzo and Alice [Chamberlain?], 27 April 1885, private possession, photographs in LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

3. My thanks to Betty Smith of the Susquehanna Historical Society for

Joe Smith was here lumbering soon after my marriage, which was in 1818, some years before he took to "peeping," and before diggings were commenced under his direction.[4] These were ideas he gained later. The stone which he afterwards used was then in the possession of Jack Belcher,[5] of Gibson, who obtained it while at Salina, N.Y., engaged in drawing salt. Belcher bought it because it was said to be "a seeing stone." I have often seen it. It was a green stone, with brown, irregular spots on it. It was a little longer than a goose's egg, and about the same thickness. When he brought it home and covered it with a hat, Belcher's little boy was one of the first to look into the hat, and as he did so he said he saw a candle. The second time he looked in he exclaimed, "I've found my hatchet!"—(it had been lost two years)—and immediately ran for it to the spot shown him through the stone, *and it was there.* The boy was soon beset by neighbors far and near to reveal to them hidden things, and he succeeded marvellously. Even the wanderings of a lost child were traced by him—the distracted parents coming to him *three* times for directions, and in each case finding signs that the child had been in the

---

allowing me to examine Blackman's original manuscript, which is otherwise restricted due to its delicate condition.

4. D. Michael Quinn accepts Buck's statement and estimates an 1820 date for Smith's lumbering in Susquehanna County (Quinn 1998, 48, 50, 52), even though Smith would have been only thirteen or fourteen years old at the time. Although Joseph Smith is missing from the 1820 Manchester, New York, census (see III.L.3, FARMINGTON [NY] CENSUS RECORD, 1820), it is doubtful that he was in Pennsylvania. More likely, Buck mistook another Joe Smith, who may have worked briefly in the area about 1818, for Joseph Smith, Jr., about whom he later heard so much in connection with treasure seeking (cf. III.K.27, THOMAS DAVIES BURRALL REMINISCENCE, 1867). Buck's statement probably belongs to the same class as those that place the Smith family in the Great Bend area (see IV.D.2, WILLIAM D. PURPLE REMINISCENCE, 28 APR 1877, n. 4). Note that Buck is imprecise as to when Smith began "peeping" (i.e., his lumbering began "soon after" 1818 and "some years" before scrying for treasure). Quinn conflates Buck's statement with R. C. Doud's (see V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 580) to have Buck seem to say that Smith first dug for treasure "'soon after' 1818 and 'some years before' Harper's 1822 diggings" (1998, 50), which Buck does not say. In Buck's mind, the "first diggings were near Capt. Buck's saw-mill, at Red Rock," for which he gives no year.

5. Perhaps John Belcher (ca. 1770-?), listed in the 1820 and 1830 censuses of Gibson, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania (1820:20; 1830:26). This Belcher subsequently moved to Springville, Susquehanna County, where he is listed in the 1840 and 1850 censuses (1840:436; 1850:8). In the latter census, he is an eighty-year-old farmer.

places he designated, but at last it was found starved to death. Joe Smith, conceiving the idea of making a fortune through a similar process of "seeing," bought the stone of Belcher and then began his operations in directing where hidden treasures could be found.[6] His first diggings were near Capt. [Ichabod] Buck's saw-mill, at Red Rock[7]; but, because his followers broke the rule of *silence,* "the enchantment removed the deposits."

6. D. Michael Quinn cites the provenance for the seer stone held by Princeton University Library backwards from Norman C. Pierce to David Dibble, Philo Dibble, Joseph Smith, and Jack Belcher. Quinn then states: "That none of the Palmyra neighbors referred to such a greenish stone would suggest that Smith did not use it to the extent he did his two other well-known stones" (Quinn 1987, 40; see also Fig. 9 in Quinn's book). It could also mean that Smith did not obtain the stone until later years during his residence in Harmony, after he had left Palmyra/Manchester (1827-30).

7. Ichabod Buck (?-1849), known as Captain Buck, was born in New Canaan, Connecticut, and immigrated in 1788 to Great Bend, where he was greatly involved with the Presbyterian church. He was appointed constable in 1793 and later served as overseer of the poor at Red Rock (Blackman 1873, 57, 60, 63, 71, 79, 80). The claim that Smith's "first diggings" took place at Red Rock is doubtful since Smith's introduction to the area was for the purpose of finding treasure near Isaac Hale's farm in Harmony (see V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825). Red Rock may have been the first digging after Smith obtained the green stone and the first of which Buck was aware. Note also that Buck does not claim firsthand knowledge of what he reports.

3.
MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE REMINISCENCE, 1877

"Mormon Joe Smith. His Former Home Near Susquehanna," *Binghamton* (New York) *Daily Republican,* 29 March 1877. Reprinted in *Newark* (New York) *Union* 5 (7 April 1877): 1; *Chenango Union* (Norwich, New York), 12 April 1877.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Mehetable Doolittle (ca. 1802-?) was apparently the granddaughter of Joseph McKune, Sr. (1762-1850). Frederick G. Mather reported in 1880 that Doolittle, "who is now living alone on a little place in Susquehanna borough, lived in Wurtsboro, Sullivan county [New York], and visited at the house of Isaac Hale, Joe Smith's father-in-law, when she was seventeen years old. She remembers Emma, afterward the wife of the Prophet, as a handsome and attractive girl, about her own age" (see V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880). Doolittle is listed as being age seventy-seven in the 1880 census of Susquehanna Depot, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania (1880:375). The present interview of Doolittle was conducted in 1877 while Doolittle was visiting her daughter in Binghamton, Broome County, New York.

Mrs. Doolittle, mother-in-law of Chief of Police Johnson,[1] who had been stopping in this city for a few days, has some personal recollections of the early career of Joe Smith, the founder of Mormonism.

Mrs. Doolittle is now seventy-five years old, and when she was seven-

---

1. Thomas Johnson (ca. 1838-?) was Binghamton's police chief from 1876 to 1877 (Seward 1924, 1:106). *Boyd's Binghamton City and Susquehanna Railroad Directory* for 1873 lists "Johnson, Thomas, under sheriff, house 24 Walnut" (1873:135). He is mentioned at age forty-two; his wife Unis L., age thirty-one; daughter Unis, age nine; and son Arthur, age seven months, in the 1880 census of Binghamton, Broome County, New York, which also notes that Thomas was a Constable and Under Sheriff.

teen years of age she was personally acquainted with Miss Emma Hale,[2] who a short time afterward married the Mormon prophet. Emma was the daughter of Isaac Hale,[3] who resided about a mile and a half this side of the present borough of Susquehanna. Mrs. Doolittle remembers her as a very pretty and amiable young lady, with fine accomplishments for that period of our inland history.

Mrs. Doolittle is the granddaughter of Benjamin McKune,[4] another patria[r]chal settler in Mr. Hale's neighborhood. Her parents resided in Sullivan county [New York], and she came to Susquehanna occasionally to visit her grand parents. That was long before the days of the Erie Railway, and before any well kept system of wagon roads or saddle paths, and people acquainted with the make-up of the country between Susquehanna and Sullivan county can well suppose that pleasure trips were not made frequently. Mrs. Doolittle was at Susquehanna sufficiently to become well acquainted with Miss Hale, but her marriage to the Mormon, the Mormon excitement and conversions in the neighborhood, and the emigration of the Prophet and his saints westward, she knows about only from the neighborhood legends.

The story is that Joe Smith came to the neighborhood to dig for money, and made several large excavations down into the ground. It was never known that his labors in that direction were rewarded. But while he was thus employed he became acquainted with Miss Hale. Her parents opposed the proposed marriage, and the young couple eloped to Windsor to be married.[5]

They returned and settled down upon a farm adjoining the lands of Mr. Hale and Mr. [Joseph] McKune.[6] There was already a small house upon the farm, a story and a half frame building, and Joe put on a small addition. The

---

2. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), who married Joseph Smith on 18 January 1827, see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

3. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

4. I have been unable to locate a Benjamin McKune in Harmony, Pennsylvania, for this early period. It is likely that the reporter confused Doolittle's grandfather with a grandson of Joseph McKune who was younger than Doolittle and that Doolittle was the granddaughter of Joseph McKune, Sr. (see note 7 below).

5. Joseph and Emma were married in South Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York, on 18 January 1827.

6. Joseph McKune, Sr. (1762-1850), is listed, in his sixties, in the 1830 census of Harmony, Pennsylvania (1830:2). He was taxed for 160 acres in the Harmony assessment for 1830 (Assessment Records, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania). Isaac Hale's land bordered Smith's thir-

farm and house is now the property of Benjamin McKune,[7] a grand son of Joseph McKune. This same McKune farm is again becoming somewhat famous in consequence of preparations to bore into it for oil a short distance from the prophet's first domicile.

While Joe was upon his farm he had the Mormon Bible. Whether he professed to find it before or after his marriage Mrs. Doolittle does not remember. Her grandfather was once privileged to take in his hands a pillow-case in which the supposed saintly treasure was wrapped, and to feel through the cloth that it had leaves. From the size and weight of the book, Mr. McKune supposed that in dimensions it closely resembled an ordinary Bible in the print of those days.

Further up the river they have also reminiscences of Joe Smith, which continue Mrs. Doolittle's narrative. In the town of Afton, not far from the Broome county line, is a small lake nestled in the hills, and a portion of it is in sight of the Albany & Susquehanna Railroad. It is said that Joe Smith baptized his first Mormon converts there[8]; and it is claimed that the Mormon Church was really begun there, instead of being founded at Manchester, Ontario county,[9] the home of the Smith family, and where the first printed copies of the Mormon or Golden Bible were distributed about ten or twelve years after the prophet's first appearance in Susquehanna county to dig for money.[10]

---

teen-and-a-half acre lot on the west, Joseph McKune, Jr.'s, on the north, and Joseph McKune, Sr.'s, on the east.

7. Benjamin F. McKune (ca. 1858-?), son of Joseph Jr. and Sarah (Sally) McKune, was born at Harmony, Pennsylvania (U.S. Census, Oakland, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, 1860:584).

8. The reporter evidently describes Afton Lake. Although there is no record of baptisms taking place at this location, one might speculate that it was the location of Josiah Stowell's baptism, although the Susquehanna River would have been more convenient. See also IV.D.12, LU B. CAKE ACCOUNTS, 1899 & 1912.

9. On the location of the church's organization, see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 82.

10. This would place Joseph Smith in the Harmony area about 1818 or 1820, an error perhaps borrowed from V.C.2, J. B. BUCK ACCOUNT, CIRCA 1873, published in Emily Blackman's *History of Susquehanna County* in 1873.

4.
MICHAEL MORSE INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM W. BLAIR, 8 MAY 1879

1. William W. Blair, Journal, 8 May 1879, 52-56, RLDS Church Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri.

2. William W. Blair to Editors, 22 May 1879, *Saints' Herald* 26 (15 June 1879): 190-91.

EDITORIAL NOTE

William Wallace Blair (1828-96), a counselor in the first presidency of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS), interviewed Michael Morse on 8 May 1879 in response to claims by Joseph and Hiel Lewis in the *Amboy Journal* (see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879). Blair recorded the interview in his journal and wrote about it in a letter to the *Saints' Herald*. Both sources are given below.

Michael Bartlet Morse (ca. 1804-?) was Joseph Smith's brother-in-law, married to Emma's sister Tryal Hale. He owned a 120-acre farm in Harmony, Pennsylvania, which he lost in 1831 (see Harmony Tax Records, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania). Before moving to Amboy, Lee County, Illinois, in 1859, he lived a short time in Chemung County, New York. At Amboy in the summer of 1860, his wife Tryal was killed by a tornado. The details of Michael's death are presently unknown (*Recollection of the Pioneers of Lee County,* 1893, 61, 64-65; see also M. A. Anderson 1929, 305).

[*1. Journal, 8 May 1879*]

Thursday, May 8/[18]79

Called on Bro. Edwin Cadwell.[1] After dinner we visited Mr. Gabriel [Michael] Morse, brother in law to Joseph the Seer.

He said Joseph came into Harmony with a Mr [Josiah] Stowell,[2] to dig

---

1. On Edwin Cadwell, see introduction to V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1879.

2. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

for treasure—Silver in oars bars—which was said to have been mined & hid by Spaniards a long time before. He thinks three different companies had been digging for it in all and that Mr. Stowell with his company were one of the three[.][3]

Says Joseph at that time (about 1825[4]) was a green, awkward, and [p. 52] ignorant boy of about 19 yrs [years] of age. Says he <then> made no pro=fession of religion. Said Mr. Stowell was a re=ligious man, as was also Mr. Isaac Hale[5] at whose house Mr. Stowell, Joseph and the other hired men boarded, and that prayers were had of mornings before their company set off to work.

Says the story of the white dog and white sheep[6] he never heard of but did know that there was a story out that before they finally abandoned their search [p. 53] for the treasure Joseph should have said to Stowell & co, that there must be a sacri=fice of a *man* before the treasure[7] could be obtained, and that finally he said that in lieu of the man, they could sacrifice a black slut that never [had] pups, and that when this sacrifice was made they should Drag the Dead carcass around the "diggings" & that would break the charm so they could get the said treasure.[8] So much for the "dog" Story which is valuable only so far as it Shows how [p. 54] officious prejudiced parties can use a "yarn" to make odious the name of a fellowman[.] He says Joseph told him he found the plates in a *stone* box. Says he many times called in at Jos[e]phs on busi=ness, when J[oseph]. would be engaged [in] translating the

---

3. The three companies might be listed as follows: the William Hale/Oliver Harper(/Josiah Stowell?) company, (1822/23?); the William Hale/Josiah Stowell company, summer 1825; and the William Hale/Josiah Stowell/Joseph Smith company, fall 1825 (see Vogel 1994, 214, n. 65).

4. The "5" is written over a "4."

5. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

6. Morse alludes to the Joseph and Hiel Lewis account of Smith substituting a white sheep for a white dog in Emily Blackman's *History of Susquehanna County* (see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879; and V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 580).

7. The word "treasure" is written over "money."

8. Blackman reports that "Joe often told Mrs. D[avid]. Lyons of the hidden treasure, and of the 'enchantment' about it, and that it was necessary that *one of the company should die* before the enchantment could be broken" (see V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 580). Smith was also said to have sacrificed a dog in Colesville (see IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 2; and IV.D.7, EMILY [COLBURN] AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 31-32).

plates. J[oseph]. put the seer stone in a hat and leaning forward would place his face in the hat, and then Dic=tate to his scribe, Sen=tence by Sentence.[9]

Has thought J[oseph]. had found the book in [the] wri=ting of some *good* man[,] committed [p. 55] it to memory, and then recited it Senten=ce by Sentence.

Said the Hale boys had a pique [peek] at J[oseph]. and was Seeking to annoy him more or less, at different times. He, (Morse), was never a believer in J[oseph's] prophetic claims, nor in the book of mormon. was (and is) a methodist. Said Emma's father was converted <from Deism> by means of her prayer in Secret, which he chanced to over=hear. She was then but 7 or 8 yrs [years] old.[10]

[*2. Letter, 22 May 1879*]

SANDWICH, Illinois, May 22d, 1879.

Editors Herald: When at Amboy [Illinois] a few days since, I learned from Mr. Michael Morse, brother-in-law of Joseph the Seer, (he having married a Miss Hale,[11] sister to S[iste]r. Emma),[12] some valuable facts in respect to Joseph the Seer and his work. It should be premised that Mr. Morse is not, and has never been a believer in the prophetic mission of Joseph.

He states that he first knew Joseph when he came to Harmony, Pa., an awkward, unlearned youth of about nineteen years of age. This was in 1825. Joseph was then in the employ of a Mr. [Josiah] Stowell, a man of some wealth, of mature age, and an active professor of religion. Joseph and others were employed by him to dig for a silver deposit, said to have been made at some time long previous. Joseph and others of the company boarded at a Mr. Isaac Hale's, whose daughter Emma he subsequently married. He states that the sons of Mr. Hale seemed opposed [p. 190] to and at enmity with Joseph from the first, and took occasions to annoy and vex him, and that at one of these times, when out fishing, Joseph threw off his coat and proposed to defend himself.[13]

---

9. On the manner of translation, see Lancaster 1990; and Van Wagoner and Walker 1982.

10. This is contradicted by Joseph and Hiel Lewis (see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879).

11. On Tryal Hale Morse (1806-60), see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, n. 191.

12. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

13. This is similar to what was recounted by Jacob I. Skinner (cf. V.C.5,

He states that Joseph told him that he found the gold plates, from whence it is claimed the Book of Mormon was translated, in a *stone box.* (Some of late have said that Joseph at first professed to have found them in an iron box).[14]

He further states that when Joseph was translating the Book of Mormon, he, (Morse), had occasion more than once to go into his immediate presence, and saw him engaged at his work of translation.

The mode of procedure consisted in Joseph's placing the Seer Stone in the crown of a hat, then putting his face into the hat, so as to entirely cover his face, resting his elbows upon his knees, and then dictating, word after word, while the scribe—Emma, John Whitmer,[15] O[liver]. Cowdery,[16] or some other, wrote it down.

Bro. [Edwin] Cadwell enquired as to whether Joseph was sufficiently intelligent and talented to compose and dictate of his own ability the matter written down by the scribes. To this Mr. Morse replied with decided emphasis, No. He said he [Morse] then was not at all learned, yet was confident he had more learning than Joseph then had.

Bro. Cadwell enquired how he (Morse) accounted for Joseph's dictating the Book of Mormon in the manner he had described. To this he replied he did not know. he said it was a strange piece of work, and he had thought that Joseph might have found the writings of some good man and, committing them to memory, recited them to his scribes from time to time.

We suggested that if this were true, Joseph must have had a prodigious memory—a memory that could be had only by miraculous endowment. To this Mr. Morse replied that he, of course, did not know as to *how* Joseph was enabled to furnish the matter he dictated.

In speaking of Mr. Isaac Hale and his daughter Emma, he said Mr. Hale always claimed that he was converted from deism to faith in Christ as the Savior, by a secret prayer of Emma's, when she was but seven or eight years old, which he accidentlally [accidentally] overheard when just entering into

---

SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880), that a drunken Smith wrestled with his equally drunken father-in-law.

14. See V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879.

15. On John Whitmer (1802-78), see "Introduction to John Whitmer Collection." Whitmer's name is probably Blair's insertion since Whitmer helped only after Smith left Harmony.

16. On Oliver Cowdery (1806-50), see "Introduction to Oliver Cowdery Collection."

the woods to hunt. In the course of her prayer she besought the Lord in behalf of her father, and the force and efficacy of that prayer entered into his heart with such power as to lead him to faith in Christ the Lord.

We are glad to be able to say that the Amboy Saints are in the faith and love of Christ. We had large and attentive audiences to hear us, and we look for a goodly increase in that branch at no distant day.

W. W. BLAIR.

5.
SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JULY 1880

[Frederick G. Mather], "The Early Mormons. Joe Smith Operates at Susquehanna," *Binghamton Republican,* 29 July 1880.

EDITORIAL NOTE

In July 1880 newspaperman Frederick G. Mather[1] visited Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, and interviewed Sally McKune, Mehetable Doolittle, Elizabeth Squires, Jacob I. Skinner, and Samuel Brush. Later that month, Mather published these interviews, together with others he obtained from the New York counties of Broome and Chenango, in the *Binghamton Republican.*[2] The article is anonymous, but Frederick G. Mather's authorship is verified by an article that subsequently appeared under his name in *Lippincott's Magazine,* August 1880, which summarizes much of the same material in his previous article (see IV.D.6, FREDERICK G. MATHER INTERVIEWS WITH SUSQUEHANNA COUNTY RESIDENTS, JUL 1880).

Sarah (Sally) McKune (ca. 1794-?), wife of Joseph McKune, Jr. (ca. 1794-1861), lived on a farm in Harmony which adjoined the Smith property on the north, the same land on which Josiah Stowell dug for treasure. In 1833 the McKunes bought the Smith property and moved into Joseph's and Emma's former house (Blackman 1873, 105). Sally McKune, age sixty-six, is listed with her husband in the 1860 census of Oakland (formerly Harmony), Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania (1860:584).

Mehetable Doolittle (1802-?), apparently the granddaughter of Joseph McKune, Sr. (1762-1850), was raised in Wurtsboro, Sullivan County, New

---

1. On Frederick Gregory Mather (1844-1925), see introduction to III.J.13, ORLANDO SAUNDERS, WILLIAM VAN CAMP, AND JOHN H. GILBERT INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

2. For Mather's interviews with the residents of Broome and Chenango Counties, see IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

York, but occasionally visited family members in Harmony and was acquainted with Emma Hale (see also V.C.3, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE REMINISCENCE, 1877). She is listed in the 1880 census of Susquehanna Depot, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, at age seventy-seven (1880: 375).

Elizabeth (Eliza) Winters Squires (1812-?) was born in Delaware County, New York, and came to Harmony with her mother in 1825 to settle near the McKune cemetery. She was a friend of Emma Smith and was often in the Smith home. Rhamanthus M. Stocker states: "Mrs. Eliza Winters Squires, now living in Oakland borough, was often at Smith's home and much in Mrs. Smith's company. The young women were on very intimate terms" (V.D.7, RHAMANTHUS M. STOCKER ACCOUNT, 1887, 554). Levi Lewis accused Joseph Smith of attempting to seduce Eliza (V.A.4, LEVI LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834), an accusation she neither confirmed nor denied. She married Elisha Squires (d. 1871) in 1837 and was still living with her only son, Stanley, in Oakland in 1887 (Stocker 1887, 557).

Jacob I. Skinner (1815-?) came to Harmony with his father, Jacob (1778-1847), in 1803. Skinner's father and uncle, Abram, purchased 237 acres of land from Joseph McKune, Jr., in 1830, including several pits dug by Josiah Stowell's money-digging company (Harmony Tax Records, 1831, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania). The Skinners were devoted Methodists whose barn was occasionally used for quarterly meetings. When Mather visited him in 1880, he was still living on the family farm within sight of the Stowell diggings. He was alive in 1887 (Stocker 1887, 557-58).

Samuel Brush (1808-84), son of Ard and Mary (Treadwell) Brush, was born in Stamford, Litchfield County, Connecticut. He moved to Harmony with his parents in 1820. Following his father's death in 1828, twenty-one-year-old Samuel inherited the sixty-acre farm (see Harmony Tax Records, 1830, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania). In 1829 he married Lydia Squires, who died in 1834. In 1840 he married Elizabeth Tylor and soon after erected a sawmill and commenced a lumbering business that eventually included several mills in the area. In 1884 he retired and moved to Brushville, where he subsequently died (Blackman 1873, 105-6; Stocker 1887, 558-59; Brush and Brush 1982, 373-74).

... There are very trustworthy living witnesses by whom to prove that some of the earlier years of Joe Smith's prophetic career were spent in Susquehanna county, Pennsylvania, where, in fact his prophesy[ing] with the "peek-stone" began. It was here that the Prophet married his wife, and it was here, on a corner of her ancestral estate, that the spiritual pair, the origi-

nator of the Latter Day Saints and the "Daughter of God" settled down to the material occupation of housekeeping. It was here that the first male child in the line of chief of the house of Latter Day Saints was born; and it is here the first born of the Father of Latter Day Saints and the "Electa Cyria" is buried.[3] The prophesy went forth from Joseph that this son was to be a worker of miracles, who should open the golden bible while in his swaddling bands, and interpret the hieroglyphics "which no fellah could find out." The young prophet was stillborn.[4] In other words he drove through time to that "undiscovered country" without stopping to feed in this sublunary sphere. He never had any swaddling bands; he never had any colic that his father knew of; he never had any milk roil on his stomach, and what gives more relief when contemplating the ills of human nature, he never cut teeth. Truly the wise die young. The early death of this prophet shows that he was too wise to go into the book publishing business on a limited capital, as a member of the firm of Joe Smith & Son, "peepers," and jobbers in new religion.

Recently a reporter of the REPUBLICAN visited Susquehanna and other towns on the Susquehanna river for the purpose of authenticating rumors of Mormon history, and interviewed several of the oldest inhabitants. It was a very pleasant work, as they were mostly intelligent and time-wise. The July sun was scalding hot, which suggested that it might have been hot in Joe Smith's days, and turned the prophet's fertile mind to thoughts of "a land that is hotter than this." ...

Joe Smith came into this country on a divine mission, at a time when the few first settlers were struggling with the wilds. They always struggle with the wilds here, as has been suggested, but at the time of the advent of the Mormon father[,] Indians and not engines went screeching through the valley. His first mission here was to get a wife. The Lord sent him after one—so he said—and told him he would know her when he saw her[5]; that is, he would know this particular Mrs. Smith in prospect from any other coming Mrs. Smith. It was to be a courtship like Cain's, in which the usual long drawn out sweets of juvenile spooning were cut short for the necessities of the case—a succession to the house of Joseph.

---

3. See V.E.3, INFANT'S GRAVESTONE, 15 JUN 1828.

4. This information came from Sally McKune (see Mather's notes at end of article). See also V.A.5, SOPHIA LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834.

5. This information came from Sally McKune (see Mather's notes at end of article). Compare III.A.15, HENRY HARRIS STATEMENT, CIRCA 1833, 252; III.B.15, LORENZO SAUNDERS INTERVIEW, 12 NOV 1884, 16; III.F.1, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEWS WITH JOHN A. CLARK, 1827 & 1828; and IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 1.

The exact time of his advent here is chronicled only in legends, and legend never kept a diary. However, the inscription upon the tomb of the little prophet, when considered in connection with the urgency before mentioned, would indicate that the Abraham of the Latter Day Saints tramped here in the summer or fall of 1827. The little prophet was buried June 15, 1828.[6]

The tramp stopped at the house of Isaac Hale,[7] a farmer living about a mile and a half below the present borough of Susquehanna, on the north side of the river. Mr. Hale had three daughters; two of them were married; but Emma,[8] the second daughter, was single, and Joseph "knew his wife." He told her what he knew about it, and in the language of the boys, she "tumbled." But her "old man" didn't. He said "not for Joe." He did not believe in Latter Day Saints; he was not much of a man for saints, anyhow; he did not believe in any species of tramps—in those days there were no lightning rod peddlers nor book agents—and told Joe he did not want any son-in-law of his stamp, even though the Lord had sent him. Joe persuaded Emma to elope; they crossed the State line into Windsor, and were married.[9] The "oldest inhabitant" fails to remember who performed the ceremony. The "Lady of the Lord" is understood to be still alive, at Na[u]voo [Illinois], and it seems to be quite important that she should produce her marriage certificate and settle the question so that no doubtful questions will ever hover about the illustrious name of Smith.

There were certain things which Joe could not do till he had a wife. He reported that the Lord had told him so. There was money buried at Palmyra, he said, which he had tried to get, but had been driven away by a headless Spaniard.[10] Almost anybody would leave when a warrior came around who was proof against braining; and Joe did not want to toe the scratch against a man who had that advantage. However, in this case it was only an imaginary advantage, for Joe couldn't be brained either. It wasn't in his head, even

---

6. See V.E.3, INFANT'S GRAVESTONE, 15 JUN 1828.

7. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

8. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

9. Joseph and Emma were married in South Bainbridge, New York, on 18 January 1827. This incorrect information originated with Mehetable Doolittle (see Mather's notes at the end of his article). Cf. V.C.3, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE REMINISCENCE, 1877.

10. This information came from Sally McKune (see Mather's notes at end of article). Joseph and Hiel Lewis remembered Smith talking about a ghost which "appeared like a Spaniard" with his "throat cut from ear to ear" (V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879).

though he had his head on. But he left. Then the Lord told him he did not need money as much as a man who had millinery and dry goods to buy; but if he had such things to purchase he should have the hidden treasure. Prophetic visions are never fulfilled in a day, and when good Elijah prayed for rain the storm appeared a great way off, and no bigger than a man's hand. The necessity of taking one step at a time was evident enough.

A live saint must have pork and beans and cabbages, etc., and the first woman saint to the House of Mormon brought with her a small piece of ground—the amount is stated at six to thirteen acres; probably six is correct.[11] Down here the valley is wide enough so that an industrious man, if he has a farm paid for, can get most of his living without stealing from the railroad. There was no railroad company to steal from then, and it appeared as though Smith would have to earn his own living when he could not live off his father-in-law.

The house he procured, and in which the monkery of translating the characters on the golden plates was gone through with, is still standing, and is part of the farm house of Benjamin McKune,[12] the Sheriff of Susquehanna county. It is the one-story portion of the building, and is 26 feet front, 18 feet deep, and 14 feet posts. The Saint did not build it, but purchased it partly finished, and moved it upon his wife's six acres. This little piece of land had been set off the Isaac Hale farm for a son, who disposed of it to his sainted sister. The house was never finished entirely, notwithstanding that since the ownership of the Saint it has been owned and occupied by persons of means. The Saint put a stovepipe up through the roof, and that is the style of chimney it sports to-day. It is doubtful, however, if it still retains the original stovepipe run up by Joe.[13] After Smith left the country Martin Harris[14]—the

---

11. Joseph Smith purchased from Isaac Hale a farm of about thirteen acres (see V.E.5, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY [PA] LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833).

12. On Benjamin F. McKune (ca. 1858-?), see V.C.3, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE REMINISCENCE, 1877, n. 7.

13. C. B. Doolittle, postmaster of Windsor, Broome County, New York, "says that he distinctly remembers seeing the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, and hearing him talk with his father, Samuel Doolittle, about the discovery of the Mormon Bible. He also says that the person who wrote the article in the Binghamton *Republican* of the 28th [29th] of July must have been mistaken in regard to the stove pipe put up in the house occupied by Smith on the [Joseph] McKune farm in Susquehanna county, Pa., as stoves did not come into use until at least ten years later. ..." (*Windsor Standard,* 14 August 1880).

14. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection."

Frank Moulton[15] of Mormonism, because he was for a long time the chief witness—came back to settle up the Saint's estate, and sold the real estate[16] to Joseph McKune [Jr.],[17] father of Sheriff [Benjamin] McKune. The elder McKune constructed the upright portion from a shed he purchased of another farmer. The structure has had no paint outside to this day, and the only thing cheering about it is a well of cold water in front, with a Dutch sweep and an "old oaken bucket."

For some reason the future ruler of Zion did not start immediately after commencing to suffer the hardships of marriage to claim t[h]e purse promised by the Lord whose prophet he was, but [used] his "peek-stone"[18] to discover a greater treasure nearer home. On a wilderness hill about half a mile north of his house, and now a part of the farm of Jacob I. Skinner, he discovered a ton of silver bars, hid deep in the bowels of the earth. This treasure was placed there by weary Spaniards as they trudged up the Susquehanna river, and became unequal to the task of hauling so much luggage. Just what band of Spanish adventurers they were does not appear, and profane history throws no light upon the mystery. Neither do we ascertain what they were doing with a ton of silver bars several hundred miles from any silver producing country before the advent of Goodenough, the Osborn Hollow and Ross Park miner.[19] No matter how it got there, there can be no doubt that a ton of silver bars was buried in the hill, for the Prophet saw it through his "peek-stone."

Before proceeding further with this narrative we will give a description of the Prophet as it was given to the reporter by several aged persons who saw him. He was six feet or a trifle over in height; stout built but wiry; light com-

---

15. This allusion was probably to someone famous at the time but unknown to me.

16. Smith's property was transferred to Joseph McKune, Jr., on 23 June 1833 (see introduction to V.E.5, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY [PA] LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833).

17. Joseph McKune, Jr. (ca. 1794-1861), was the son of Joseph McKune, Sr., one of the early settlers in Harmony, Pennsylvania. He probably married Sally McKune in the 1820s.

18. Footnote in original reads: "A curiously shaped stone found by Joe Smith while digging a well at Palmyra." Cf. III.A.14, WILLARD CHASE STATEMENT, CIRCA 11 DEC 1833, 240-41.

19. Information about the Spanish mine came from Sally McKune (see Mather's notes at the end of his article). Mather alludes to a person known to his readers as Goodenough who evidently mined in Ross Park (Binghamton) and Osborn Hollow (Colesville). I have been unable to identify this person (see also III.E.3, *PALMYRA REFLECTOR*, 1829-1831, n. 30).

plexion; light hair and light blue eyes. One aged lady said "he didn't look as though he knowed enough to fool people so." He wore a tall white stovepipe hat. Now imagine this athletic form kneeling down and burying his face in his white stovepipe hat, in which was placed the "peek-stone," and you have in your mind's eye a view of the first Latter Day Saint discovering the treasures in the earth which no other fellow ever discovered. It was just like looking into water, he said; he could not tell just how deep it was any more than a man can who looks down into a lake; and the deflection of light sometimes took him out of the right course a few inches. Then, too, the "rock-ribbed hills"—and the hills about here are "rock-ribbed" with a vengeance—were so insecure, and treasure so unstable that things in the bowels of the earth were liable to get mixed up every day. When his party would dig almost to a great treasure the enchantment would move it sometimes several rods out of the way. That sort of enchantment must have "tried the patience of a saint," and all the saints of Mormondom.[20]

As soon as he could collect followers enough about him to do the work—the Latter Day Saint, unlike St. Paul, did not labor with his own hands—an excavation was commenced to recover the lost Spanish silver bars. The followers had to strengthen their faith, the visible certainty that if there was anything in that immediate vicinity worth working for it must be under ground. And in this line of reasoning there was no objection to believing it was pretty deep. Still they were not despondent. Their greatest excavation was about thirty feet broad on top, and about thirty-five feet deep. The ground was wet, and it was necessary also to dig a drain to this immense hole in order to let off the water. As the hole was on the crown of a hill a drain was opened by digging a few rods to the south.

The excavation, as the work progressed, was covered with a wooden structure to hide it from the eyes of the profane and scoffers. Down, down they went, the distance being measured by slow shovelfuls and tedious blasts in the rocks, until they were just ready, or would be next day, to stoop down and pick up the ton of silver bullion.[21] "Hocus, pocus, presto, change." The "charm" moved the silver away three hundred feet to the north-east. It was an uphill job, but the charm was sufficient for the task. This was terribly hard on the new church, but the ambitious Saint was not to be cheated in that way. He got down on his marrow bones with his peek-stone, and tracked it to its exact hiding place. It was not so far under ground this time—only about

---

20. Information in this paragraph is largely from Sally McKune (see Mather's notes at the end of his article).

21. Details of the digging were given by Jacob I. Skinner (see Mather's notes at the end of his article).

twenty feet. The faithful went for it again with sleeves rolled up. It was a case of necessity. While they had been digging the large hole they had boarded around. Considerable of the prophetic hash had been furnished by Mr. [Isaac] Hale, the Saint's father-in-law, who was a stiff old Methodist, and by force of circumstances was taking altogether more stock in this Big Bonanza than was agreeable to his judgment of matters of business. It became necessary, therefore, to get to that silver in the shortest possible time. Goodenough might have pinned it with a drill, but the saints who had no steam engine had to dig with pick and shovel.

At it they went again, with a will known only to those who work with a religious zeal or a worldly hope of a "bar'l of money." Hush, it's here! pick it up! No, it's gone again. Not a rumble nor a jar marked its going, but it went like riches on wings. Softly and silently it flitted away, and lighted fifty feet beyond the big hole. The Saints and faithful followers were exasperated, and fully determined to capture it if they had to take the hill to pieces and shake it through a sieve.

But just mark the valuable services of the Saint's "peek-stone." Every time it got track of the treasure, and enabled the faithful to dig toward it. The third hole was sunk about fifteen feet, when the treasure waltzed around on the other side of the big hole. Now the Saint had a vision; blood must be shed; it must be the blood of a black sheep, sprinkled all around the diggings. The faithful were mighty glad to hear of this, for they were tired of trying to catch a ton of silver which went like a nimble sixpence, and had so much the advantage of them in dodging about. There was a charm about it, for the Prophet said so, but ten prophets could not make them believe there was a charm about the work. That wasn't the kind of men they were, and the Mormons have never been that kind of men.[22]

In all the country around Susquehanna there was not a black sheep. The nearest thing to a black sheep was a black dog, and the Prophet thought that might answer. The dog was killed, and its blood sprinkled about the ground where the silver was. The silver never went away any great distance after that, but it waltzed around the big hole in a manner to defy the dexterity of pick and shovel. Frequent drifts were struck out from the big hole, but the silver couldn't be coaxed with the blood of a black dog, nor cornered by tunneling. The Prophet decided that some man must be killed; that some of their number must be slaughtered and become a sacrifice to appease the

22. The account of the enchanted treasure is based on information supplied by Sally McKune (see Mather's notes at the end of his article); however, the information about the sacrifice of a dog came from Jacob I. Skinner (see note 24 below).

charm that had the silver under its arm and was playing hide and seek with them. Until that was done the prize would escape them, and there was no use of digging against fate. He called for a volunteer, but none of the faithful could spare themselves for that purpose. For the simple reason that no Marcus Curtius,[23] could be found to throw his manhood into the breech, to step forward and have his head cut off for the great benefit of those who were left, this magnificent enterprise was abandoned, and all the silver there ever was in that mountain lies there until this day. When we reflect upon the great number of people who sacrifice themselves for wealth, it seems strange that the founder of Mormonism could find no sacrifice except a black dog which was little better than nothing in its operations. And it is not likely that he obtained the consent of the dog.[24]

Oliver Harper,[25] one of the number employed in the digging, and who furnished some of the sinews of war, was soon afterward shot by Jason Treadwell, near Joe Smith's house, while returning from a rafting expedition down the Susquehanna. The Saint thought this would answer for a sacrifice, and rallied the faithful to dig some more; but the charm remained stubborn, and would not come within sight of anybody with the silver, except the Prophet with his "peek-stone," and the "peek-stone" business was pretty nearly played out in this neighborhood. There was too much hard work and perspiration about it to be clearly connected with a day of miracles.[26]

---

23. Marcus Curtius, according to legend, was a Roman youth who in 362 B.C. sacrificed himself by jumping on horseback into a chasm that had opened in the Forum (Magnusson 1990, 374).

24. The story of Smith sacrificing a black dog came from Jacob I. Skinner (see Mather's notes at the end of his article). This story was also recounted in V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, n. 17. Michael Morse also heard the story but regarded it as a "yarn" (see V.C.4, MICHAEL MORSE INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM W. BLAIR, 8 MAY 1879). Smith was said to have sacrificed a dog in Colesville (see IV.C.5, JOEL K. NOBLE TO JONATHAN B. TURNER, 8 MAR 1842, 2; and IV.D.7, EMILY [COLBURN] AUSTIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1882, 31-32).

25. On Oliver Harper (ca. 1784-1824), see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879, n. 7.

26. The incorrect association of Oliver Harper with Joseph Smith came from Sally McKune (see Mather's notes at the end of his article). Harper was murdered on 11 May 1824 and would not have known Smith, who arrived in Harmony about November 1825. It is unclear if McKune connected Harper's death with Smith or if Mather did, perhaps influenced by Emily Blackman's 1873 *History of Susquehanna County* (cf. V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 579-80). D. Michael Quinn accepts a Smith-Harper association but ignores the human-sacrifice context (Quinn 1998, 54, 55).

The Prophet turned his attention again toward Palmyra, and the hidden treasure in that neighborhood, but was supposed by Mr. Hale and his family to be in pursuit of furniture for housekeeping. He was accompanied by his wife's brother Alvah,[27] who officiated as teamster. When they returned to Susquehanna it was learned that the Saint had brought with him the wonderful golden plates. It is recorded in the Book of Mormon that after the prize was won and delivered to the Prophet by angels, his eyes were opened and he saw legions of devils contending against a celestial host to keep the golden bible hid. What the devils wanted to keep it hid for is hard to understand. Such conduct certainly showed great shortsightedness in them, and they are not supposed to be a superficial race. The Book of Mormon does not record all. It does not tell where the Prophet went immediately after the golden plates were won and delivered to him.[28]

He returned to Susquehanna with his head heavily bandaged, and reported that he had had a personal encounter with the chief devil, and that he (the Prophet) was severely wounded by a blow struck right from the shoulder.[29] The Book of Mormon does not record this magnificent fisticuff. One could easily wish that the devil had prevailed for once, instead of wounding and then meeting with defeat, though this is not usual to wish the devil success. The fact was established, however, that the devil is a hard-hitter, and when one says he "is not afraid of the devil" he does not know just what he is talking about. Joe Smith found out.

The golden plates were brought from the West secreted in a barrel of beans.[30] They were brought to Joe Smith's house, but were not to be seen nor opened until a prophet should come who would be sufficient for the

---

27. On Alva Hale (1795-1882), see introduction to V.A.2, ALVA HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

28. Information in this paragraph was supplied by Sally McKune (see Mather's notes at the end of his article).

29. This information originated with Harriet (Johnson) Marsh, who related that she saw Smith with his head bandaged "about two weeks after Smith returned from Palmyra with the golden plates" (see Mather's notes at the end of IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEW WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880). While Lucy Smith and others report that Joseph injured his thumb, no one mentioned a head injury. Moreover, Smith said he arrived at Harmony in December 1827, months after he had obtained the plates.

30. This information came from Sally McKune (see Mather's notes at the end of his article). Cf. V.D.1, E. D. HOWE ACCOUNT, 1834; I.A.17, ORSON PRATT ACCOUNT, 1840, 13-14; and V.D.7, RHAMANTHUS M. STOCKER ACCOUNT, 1887, 554-55.

task. This prophet was sadly laid away in his little earthly cradle, as has been stated, and his infantile mouth was never opened to interpret golden plates. Then the father was miraculously helped out of a great difficulty by finding a pair of spectacles—perhaps they were presented to him by angels—which would cause the hieroglyphics to appear written in a language the Latter Day Saint could understand. Joe's language, as nearly as can be ascertained at the present day, was a compound of bad English and Mohawk Dutch. These spectacles were supposed to be something entirely new in the line of spectacles, for at that time it was not well understood that translators and commentators generally use glasses constructed on similar principles. There is a slightly different shade of coloring to different denominational spectacles, but the principle of being cut on the bias, and tinted to order is about the same in all of them.

Joe Smith would write the translation from his plates upon a slate, or dictate what to write, and others would copy upon paper. His assistants were witness Martin Harris, and brother-in-law Reuben Hale.[31] The translating and writing were done in the little low chamber of Joe Smith's house. The Prophet and his precious trust were screened even from the sight of his clerks by blankets nailed to the walls.[32] The nails remained for many years just as they were driven by the Prophet, and it was not until some repairing was done a short time ago that they were drawn out. Neighbors were free to call at the house as much as they pleased while the bible was concocting, and the matter of the golden bible would be talked over. Some persons were permitted to lift the pillow case in which it was kept, and feel the thickness of the volume the plates made, but no one was permitted to see them.[33]

A very important accident occurred at his house while the translation

---

31. On Reuben Hale (1810-?), see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, n. 188. Reuben Hale's participation was reported by Samuel Brush (see Mather's notes at the end of his article). Cf. I.F.3, EMMA SMITH BIDAMON INTERVIEW WITH JOSEPH SMITH III, FEB 1879, 2:289; and V.D.7, RHAMANTHUS M. STOCKER ACCOUNT, 1887.

32. This information was given by Sally McKune (see Mather's notes at the end of his article). This use of a screen, at least at first, is confirmed in III.F.1, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEWS WITH JOHN A. CLARK, 1827 & 1828; V.D.2, CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEB 1834; and V.D.3, CHARLES ANTHON TO THOMAS WINTHROP COIT, 3 APR 1841.

33. This information may have come from Mehetable Doolittle, who elsewhere claimed that her grandfather, Joseph McKune, "was once privileged to take in his hands a pillow-case in which the supposed saintly treasure was wrapped" (see V.C.3, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE REMINISCENCE, 1877).

was going on, which materially abridge the Book of Mormon. Witness Harris was a man of moderate means, but he had become the Mormon treasurer, using his own funds for a treasury. His wife became thoroughly alarmed about the manner in which their property was wasting away, and came on from the West to arrest their destruction and reclaim her husband if possible. The husband, infatuated more with Joe Smith than with her, sought to persuade her to hold her peace, by showing her the sacred writings they had made, and which were now nearly completed. She hid the manuscript, and when she was asked to give it up, said Joe Smith might peek for it. Joe brought his "peek-stone" into use, and pointed to several places, but the roll was not found where he directed his attendants to search. He accused her of being unfair, and of removing the manuscript every time, just before the attendant reached it. In other words the bible disappeared just as the silver had done under the influence of an evil charm. After a while Mrs. [Lucy] Harris[34] surrendered part of the manuscript which she took from her straw bed, just to show the Prophet she knew he was a fraud. But a portion was never given up. The Mormons say she retained it. Joe Smith never understood to use his spectacles for a second translation of the matter on the missing sheets, as he feared Mrs. Harris would produce a different bible consisting of his first translation of the golden plates. The woman, however, was not so shrewd as they suspected she was, and instead of setting the cunning trap they feared she spitefully burned the manuscript, hoping that if it could not be found the religious partnership between her husband and Joe Smith would be dissolved.[35] ...[36]

There are several stories told in the neighborhoods of Susquehanna and Harpersville about miracles performed by Joe Smith. Joe was in the habit of drinking liquor too freely for the founder of a religion, and perhaps he often mistook a hilarious condition for a very spiritual condition, and undertook to perform on a grand scale very much as other drunken men do without realizing the magnitude of his task and his own utter inability to perform it. He got pretty drunk at one time while out with a party who fished the river with a

---

34. On Lucy Harris (1792-1837), see introduction to III.A.7, LUCY HARRIS STATEMENT, 29 NOV 1833.

35. This information originated with Sally McKune (see Mather's notes at the end of his article), although it is a distorted account (see III.L.16, BOOK OF MORMON PREFACE, 1829).

36. For Mather's account of events in Colesville and South Bainbridge, New York, see IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEW WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

drag net. The catch was very good, but unlike the fishermen of Galilee the men were able to pull in all the fish.[37]

One night when a heavy frost was expected, Joe Smith volunteered to go into the cornfield of Michael Morse, his brother-in-law, and pray the frost away. The cornfield was on the hill south of the Susquehanna depot, and fairly exposed to north and west atmospheric influences. Joe went and prayed, but he was not equal to the emergency. The frost came and destroyed the corn. He couldn't warm up equal to the occasion.[38] ...[39]

THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

The strictly narrative portion of the foregoing account of early Mormonism, as has been stated, was gathered from very creditable eye witnesses, who are now among the aged, and honored, and trusted of their townships. They were among the youth at the time of Joe Smith's earlier adventures and personally pried into every undertaking and watched every movement.

MRS. MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, who is now living alone on a little place in Susquehanna borough, lived in Wurtsboro, Sullivan county [New York], and visited at the house of Isaac Hale, Joe Smith's father-in-law, when she was seventeen years old. She remembers Emma, afterward the wife of the Prophet, as a handsome and attractive girl, about her own age. She says Emma was decoyed away for a ride, and married in Windsor, very much against the wishes of her parents.

MRS. SALLIE MCKUNE, widow of Joseph McKune and mother of Sheriff [Benjamin] McKune, is now eighty years old. She was between twenty-five and thirty years old when Joe Smith was performing about Susquehanna, and lived upon a farm adjoining Joe Smith's lot and the Isaac Hale farm, and in sight of the place where they dug for the ton of silver, on Jacob I. Skinner's farm. Smith's residence was between the residence of

---

37. Smith's drinking was reported by Sally McKune and Jacob I. Skinner (see Mather's notes at the end of his article). Cf. III.F.5, MARTIN HARRIS KIRTLAND (OH) HIGH COUNCIL HEARING, 12 FEB 1834. This may have been the occasion mentioned by Michael Morse when Smith challenged the Hale boys to a fight (see V.C.4, MICHAEL MORSE INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM W. BLAIR, 8 MAY 1879).

38. This information came from Sally McKune (see Mather's notes at the end of his article). Cf. V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS INTERVIEWS, 1879.

39. For Mather's account of events in Colesville, New York, see IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEW WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

Joseph McKune and Isaac Hale. Her husband bought the Smith place, built an addition to the house, and Mrs. McKune lived in the house about forty years. She remembers the arrangement of the nails used for hooks to hang blankets on during the translation of the golden bible. The anecdotes of the Spaniard without a head; of Smith's being sent out to find his wife; the charm that moved the silver; the human sacrifice asked for; the relations of Robert [Oliver] Harper with the silver hunt, and his tragic death; the circumstances of bringing the golden plates home; and of the translation by the aid of miraculous spectacles and the trick of Mrs. Harris, are related by her with great clearness. Smith and his conspirators gave out that the Book of Mormon would make them and the Hale family rich. She understands that the Joe Smith place consisted of only six acres. Mrs. McKune told the story of the miracle in the corn field; of Joe Smith's getting drunk; and of the young prophet who failed to connect with time. She says her husband strongly suspected that Joe Smith and his gang were counterfeiters.[40]

MRS. ELIZABETH SQUIRES, who is about seventy years old, was present at the interview with Mrs. [Sally] McKune. She always lived in that neighborhood, and thoroughly corroborated Mrs. McKune in all her statements, and often prompted her in her recollections of fifty years ago. The interview occurred at Mrs. Squires' residence, where Mrs. McKune chanced to be visiting. They unite in saying that Joe Smith never made a convert at Susquehanna, and also that his father-in-law became so incensed by his conduct that he threatened to shoot him if he ever returned. Isaac Hale is represented as a sturdy but somewhat eccentric man, who would have been likely to fulfill his promise toward his unpromising son-in law. As an instance of his unyielding disposition it is stated that he never forgave the trustees of the neighborhood cemetery with whom he had a dispute, and that in his will he made it obligatory upon his executors to bury him on his farm instead of placing him in the family plot in the cemetery where the remains of his wife, and the young prophet, and other descendants repose.[41]

---

40. Her husband's father, Joseph McKune, Sr., participated as a witness in the Jason Treadwell trial for the murder of Oliver Harper, held 1-5 September 1824. Treadwell and other witnesses implicated Harper in counterfeiting, and Treadwell himself admitted to trading counterfeit coin (printed court record, Susquehanna County Historical Society, Montrose, Pennsylvania).

41. Isaac Hale died on 11 January 1839. His will states: "I further desire my body buried on my own land back of the garden near the line betwixt me and Joseph McKune, Jr." ("Will of Isaac Hale, Deceased," Wills, Book 1, 178, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania; cf. Porter 1971, 118). According to Mather, Hale's gravestone was not in the McKune Cemetery as of July 1880. However, George E. Anderson photographed Hale's gravestone

JACOB I. SKINNER, who now owns and occupies the farm where Smith and his followers dug for silver, was then about sixteen years old. He has been engaged for years in dumping stones into the holes to fill them up, because they were dangerous traps for his cattle. The smaller hole, which is in the edge of a wood, is still used by the boys in wet weather for a swimming pond. Mr. Skinner is sure that the Prophet claimed to have found the golden bible in the big hole on his farm, but in that he is not corroborated by another witness.[42] Yet he has the hole to show in support of his claim, and that must be regarded as a big thing when he comes in controversy with a man who has less proof. Mr. Skinner is clear in his statements about the manner of digging; of going down in the big hole, then going to a hole in the woods, and then coming back to sink shafts and run drifts about the big hole. He is authority for saying the big hole was covered by a rough board house; also for the story of the black dog; and that Mr. Hale threatened to shoot his son-in-law if he ever came back. He described Joe Smith's appearance, and his manner of searching for hidden treasure. He was not aware that Joe ever performed any other miracles, or attempted any. He remembers how the Prophet's residence was built, and thinks that his place consisted of thirteen acres. His opinion is that the place was worth about $500 to $600, but doubts if anything was paid on it.[43] Mr. Skinner was present at the net fishing excursion when Joe Smith got drunk. The Prophet carried a bottle of whiskey in his pocket. His good father-in-law also imbibed more tanglefoot than was compatible with patriarchal dignity and good example, and he and Joe had a good natured rough and tumble.

SAMUEL BRUSH, a smart old gentleman about seventy-five years of age, who is now running a large farm and lumber-mill about three miles southwest of Susquehanna, lived in the Hale neighborhood in the time of Joe Smith's exploits there. While the translation of the [gold] bible was going on he called often to see Reuben Hale, the scribe. Reuben would always quit work and come down stairs[44]; and sometimes would go away from home

---

in 1907 in the McKune Cemetery next to his wife's (see photograph in Holzapfel and Cottle 1991, 161).

42. Skinner's error is contradicted by Samuel Brush and Sally McKune. Brush, for example, "understood that it was a ton of Spanish silver, and not the golden bible they were digging for on the hill" (see Mather's note on Samuel Brush below and Sally McKune above). Concerning this excavation, see V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873.

43. See V.E.5, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY (PA) LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833.

44. Previously Mather states that the translation was conducted in a "little low chamber" of the house.

with him. Old Mr. Hale gave Joe Smith the sobriquet of "Peeker." Mr. Brush understood that it was a ton of Spanish silver, and not the golden bible they were digging for on the hill. Martin Harris was a believer in second sight, (which accounts, to a very great extent, for his connection with Joe Smith, for spending his money, and for his testimony to the genuineness of the Mormon revelation[)]. His faith in second sight was badly shaken when he never got the second sight of his money placed in Joe Smith's hands. Reuben Hale explained to Mr. Brush why the Prophet could not tell the precise location of an object he could see through his "peek-stone" on the supposition of deflected light. Miss Blackman, author of a history of Susquehanna county, gives Joe Smith the reputation of being tricky.[45] That[,] Mr. Brush claims[,] is a mistake. Mr. Brush was not catechised as to what, in his opinion, constitutes a tricky man. He says Joe Smith was a good, kind neighbor; and that is the testimony of Mrs. McKune, Mrs. Squires and Mr. Skinner. ...[46]

In a little briar and fern grown cemetery, on a knoll a few rods above the place where they bored for oil on the McKune farm, by the side of the Erie Railway, a few years ago, is the legend of the prophet which was to be and wasn't. It is engraved upon a little rude headstone of black sand-stone, and reads: "In memory of an infant son of Joseph and Emma Smith, June 15, 1828."[47] The lettering is rude, in the style of the manuscripts of those days, and the figures' 8's look like a cross between a $ character and the letter S bent the wrong way. They bring to mind visions of an old-fashioned school-master. The embryo prophet is buried in a row with the Hale family, and around him are the McKunes and other pioneers who have passed away, leaving honorable names and honorable descendants.

---

45. See V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873.

46. For Mather's review of his sources of information from the Colesville, New York, area, see IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEW WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

47. See V.E.3, INFANT'S GRAVESTONE, 15 JUN 1828.

6.
FREDERICK G. MATHER INTERVIEWS WITH SUSQUEHANNA COUNTY (PA) RESIDENTS, JULY 1880

Frederick G. Mather, "The Early Days of Mormonism," *Lippincott's Magazine* (Philadelphia) 26 (August 1880): 199-203, 211.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The present article, which appeared under Frederick G. Mather's name in the August 1880 issue of *Lippincott's Magazine,* is a summary of an article published the previous month in the *Binghamton Republican.* For fuller documentation, see V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

...[1] In September, 1823, an angel appeared to him [Smith], forgave his many lapses from grace and announced the golden plates.

These plates, however, were not found for several years. In the mean time the scene of Smith's operations shifted along the banks of Seneca Lake and down the tributaries of the Susquehanna to the point where that river sweeps southward into Pennsylvania past a borough of its own name, and then northward into New York, before it finally crosses Pennsylvania on its way to the Chesapeake. The borough of Susquehanna forms an important station on the Erie Railway, one hundred and ninety miles north-west of New York City. All about the locality houses are built in little groups upon the steep hillsides: even the railroad-shops could not be erected before the ground was levelled for them. When the river first cut a channel through the Appalachin Mountains it was very saving of its strength. Should anything besides the river attempt to enter this valley it must either hang against the sides or swim.

Joe Smith had paid several visits to this region when the first settlers

---

1. For Mather's account of events in Palmyra/Manchester, New York, see III.J.13, ORLANDO SAUNDERS, WILLIAM VAN CAMP, AND JOHN H. GILBERT INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

were struggling with the wilderness. It was a much wilder country than that about Palmyra, and the inhabitants were much more credulous. Upon these people Smith practised with his peek-stone. A number of aged persons now living in that vicinity give this description of the prophet: He was six feet or a trifle over in height; of stout build, but wiry; his hair and complexion were light; his eyes were blue and mild; and "he did not look as if he knew enough to fool people so," as one old lady expressed it. When "peeking" he kneeled and buried his face in his white stovepipe hat, within which was the peek-stone. He declared it to be so much like looking into the water that the "deflection of flight [light?]" sometimes took him out of his course. On a wilderness-hill—now a part of Jacob J. Skinner's farm—his peek-stone discovered a ton of silver bars which had been buried by weary Spaniards as they trudged up the Susquehanna. An expedition for their recovery was undertaken as soon as Smith could muster enough followers to do the work. Unlike St. Paul, Joe did not work with his own hands, and he did not hesitate to be chargeable to any one. Several round excavations were made on the crown of a hill, the largest of which was about thirty-five feet in diameter and of about the same depth. The water was drained toward the south, and a shanty covered the hole from the eyes of the scoffers and the profane. The diggers had proceeded with great labor, and were just ready to grasp the silver, when the charm moved it three hundred feet to the north-east. Joe tracked it with his peek-stone to its hiding-place. It was not so far under the surface this time—only about twenty feet—and the faithful again worked with a will. The dilatory move[p. 199]ments of the silver caused anxiety to Mr. Isaac Hale, with whom the diggers had been "boarding round." Hale was a stiff old Methodist whose business judgment told him that he was taking too much stock in this "big bonanza." For all his anxiety, the silver again flitted away, and alighted fifty feet beyond the big hole. They determined to capture it if they ran the hill through a sieve. The third hole had been sunk fifteen out of the necessary twenty feet when the treasure once more jumped to the other side of the big hole. Then the prophet had a vision: the blood of a black sheep must be shed and sprinkled around the diggings. Black sheep were scarce, and while they waited for one the faithful obtained their needed rest. At length, no sheep appearing, Joe said that a black dog might answer. A dog, therefore, was killed, and the blood was sprinkled on the ground. After that the silver never went far away. Still, it waltzed about the big hole in such a lively manner that frequent tunnelling to effect its capture availed nothing. At last the prophet decided that it was of no use to dig unless one of their number was made a sacrifice. None of the faithful responded to his call, and thus the magnificent scheme was abandoned. Oliver Harper, one of the diggers who furnished the money, was soon afterward murdered. The prophet

thought this might answer for a sacrifice: he again rallied the diggers, but the charm remained stubborn and would not reveal the silver.[2]

There was, however, another object for which Smith said the Lord had sent him to Susquehanna; and that was—a wife. Until he obtained one there was no use in trying to get certain buried treasures at Palmyra. A headless Spaniard guarded it with great vigilance, but would, it appeared, be driven away if Smith should shake millinery and dry-goods bills at him. Joseph stopped at the house of Isaac Hale, already noticed as having furnished board to the diggers. Mr. Hale owned a farm on the north side of the river, a mile and a half below the present borough of Susquehanna. He had three daughters, two of them already married. The second daughter, Emma, was easily persuaded to join her fortunes with those of the adventurer. The father, however, made so much opposition that they crossed over into the State of New York, and were married at Windsor, a neighboring town. This was probably early in 1826.[3] Mr. Hale threatened to shoot his son-in-law—the "Peeker," as he called him—if he ever returned. ... [p. 200] ...[4]

Such a precious treasure as was now in the hands of Smith was not to be "borne in earthly vessels frail." He applied to Willard Chase, a son of that Clark Chase on whose premises the original peek-stone was discovered, to make him a wooden box for the plates. The compensation was to be a share in the prospective profits from the "Gold Book." Chase's lack of faith in both the man and the book caused him to decline the work.[5] Smith thereupon

---

2. Footnote in the original reads: "On a scorching day in July I visited Susquehanna to obtain an authentic narrative from several parties who were eye-witnesses of the events which they related. At the residence of Mrs. Elizabeth Squires I found both herself and Mrs. Sally McKune, the widow of Joseph McKune. Mrs. Squires is considerably over seventy, and Mrs. McKune is about eighty, years of age. Both these ladies lived in the neighborhood at the time of the Smith manifestations. The statement given above with regard to the digging for treasure is that of Mrs. McKune, supplemented by Mrs. Squires. Jacob J. Skinner, the present owner of the farm, was about sixteen years old at the time of the search. For a number of years he has been engaged in filling the holes with stone to protect his cattle, but the boys still use the north-east hole as a swimming-pond in the summer."

3. Joseph and Emma were married in South Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York, on 18 January 1827.

4. For Mather's account of events in Palmyra/Manchester, New York, see III.J.13, ORLANDO SAUNDERS, WILLIAM VAN CAMP, AND JOHN H. GILBERT INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

5. See III.A.14, WILLARD CHASE STATEMENT, CIRCA 11 DEC 1833, 245.

thrust his gold plates and the rings which connected them into a bag of beans and started for Susquehanna. Twenty miles above that borough lies the village of Harpersville. Here lived Benjamin Wasson, who married one of Mrs. Smith's sisters. Wasson was a cabinetmaker, and, although not a Mormon, he made a strong box for the plates. Smith announced that no one could look into the box and live, but when his father-in-law, Hale, wished to try it Smith hid the box in the woods. Hale, in his statement of 1834, declared that Smith translated the plates in his own house, "with the stone in his hat and his hat over his face," while the plates were still hid in the woods.[6]

Fortunately for Smith, he did not have to depend upon Hale for a place in which to carry on his operations. His wife had a six-acre place in a corner of her father's farm, adjoining the farm of Joseph McKune. Upon this little strip of land Smith moved a partly-finished house, twenty-six feet broad, eighteen feet deep and fourteen feet in the posts.[7] It is evident, from the stovepipe through the roof, that the edifice was never finished. After Smith left this region Martin Harris came from Palmyra and sold the house to McKune, whose widow lived in it for about forty years. It is now the farm-residence of her son, Benjamin McKune, high sheriff of Susquehanna county, and lies close to the track of the Erie Railway, a mile and a half west of Susquehanna Dépôt. The elder McKune strongly suspected that Smith and his gang were counterfeiters.

The prophet's original plan was that the plates should be translated by an infant son, who should perform other miracles and become his successor. But his expectations were doomed to disappointment, for in a little fern-grown cemetery near at hand is a tottering slab of black sandstone with the simple inscription, "In memory of an infant son of Joseph and Emma Smith, June 15, 1828."[8] Hence the magic spectacles were very opportunely found with the plates. The little low chamber in Smith's house was used as a translating-room. The prophet and his plates were screened even from the sight of his scribes, Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery and Reuben Hale, by blankets secured with nails. While the translation was going on the neighbors frequently called to discuss the forthcoming book, which, it was alleged, would make the Hale family very rich. Occasionally a visitor was allowed to feel the thickness of the Golden Book as it reposed within a pillow-case, but no one was permitted to see it.[9]

---

6. See V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

7. See V.E.5, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY (PA) LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833.

8. See V.E.3, INFANT'S GRAVESTONE, 15 JUN 1828.

9. Footnote in original reads: "Among the callers was Samuel Brush, now

The "celestial machinery" for the [p. 201] translating process was very simple. A copy of the hieroglyphics was taken, and then Smith either wrote his translation on a slate or dictated for others to write on paper. Martin Harris having taken a scroll containing some of the hieroglyphics to Professor Anthon, the characters were pronounced to be partly Greek, partly Hebrew and partly Roman inverted, with a rude copy of Humboldt's Mexican calendar at the end.[10] ...

Mrs. [Sally] McKune relates the particulars of an incident which took place early in 1828. Martin Harris had advanced so much money to Smith that his wife came from Palmyra in great alarm to arrest the destruction of property and to reclaim her husband if possible. Harris showed her the sacred writings, already nearly completed, as an inducement for her to hold her peace. She found where the manuscript was concealed, and at once secured it. When asked to return it she replied, "Joe Smith may peek for it." This he attempted to do, but accused her of unfairly removing the manuscript whenever the attendants had almost reached it. After waiting a little time, she produced a portion of the roll and declared Smith to be a fraud. The remainder of the manuscript she retained, and finally burned it, with the remark, "If it cannot be found there will be an end to the partnership between Joe Smith and my husband." Joe never undertook to use his wonderful spectacles for a second translation of the matter in the missing manuscript: he feared that Mrs. Harris might produce a totally different Bible consisting of his first translation.[11]

Mrs. [Elizabeth] Squires and Mrs. [Sally] McKune agree in saying that no converts were made by Smith and Harris in the vicinity of Susquehanna. ... [p. 202] ...[12]

All accounts agree that Smith drank freely, both in the Susquehanna

---

a vigorous man of seventy-five, who carries on a large farm and a lumber-mill three miles south-west of Susquehanna. At the time of the translation he often called Reuben Hale away from his work, and the pair went for a walk. Reuben also explained the phenomenon of the peek-stone on the theory of 'deflected light.' Mr. Brush declares that Martin Harris was a believer in 'second sight,' and that 'Smith was a good and kind neighbor'—testimony which is also given by Mrs. McKune, Mrs. Squires and Mr. Skinner."

10. See V.D.2, CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEB 1834; and V.D.3, CHARLES ANTHON TO THOMAS WINTHROP COIT, 3 APR 1841.

11. See III.L.16, BOOK OF MORMON PREFACE, 1829.

12. For Mather's account of events in Colesville, New York, see IV.D.6, FREDERICK G. MATHER INTERVIEWS WITH RESIDENTS OF BROOME AND CHENANGO COUNTIES (NY), JUL 1880.

and in the Harpersville neighborhoods. Mrs. McKune relates that one night Smith volunteered to pray the frost away from the corn-field of his brother-in-law, Michael Morse. The field was not saved, probably because it had an exposure toward the north and the west.[13] ... [p. 203] ...[14]

FREDERIC[K] G. MATHER. [p. 211]

13. Cf. V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879.

14. For Mather's account of events in Colesville, New York, see IV.D.6, FREDERICK G. MATHER INTERVIEWS WITH RESIDENTS OF BROOME AND CHENANGO COUNTIES (NY), JUL 1880; and for his account of events in Palmyra/Manchester, New York, see III.J.13, ORLANDO SAUNDERS, WILLIAM VAN CAMP, AND JOHN H. GILBERT INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

7.
HENRY A. SAYER STATEMENT, 1885

Henry A. Sayer, Statement to Arthur B. Deming, 24 February 1885, *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (January 1888): 3.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Henry A. Sayer gave the following biographical information about himself:

> My father was an English gentleman, and well educated. He came to America and became a citizen when he was a young man. He was an Episcopalian, but married Jane Allen, a Quakeress, of Bordentown, N.J. His father was in poor health, and wrote for my parents to come to Norwich, England. ... I was the nineteenth [child], born May 4, 1810. My parents desired their children to be American citizens, and emigrated in 1816 to Luzerne County, Pa., seven miles from Wilkesbarre. ...

This brief autobiography is followed by Sayer's statement about Mormon origins in Harmony, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.

... When a young man I spent much of the summers along the Susquehanna River. I became acquainted with Jo, Hyrum, and Bill Smith, whom I often saw hunting and digging for buried money, treasure, or lost and hidden things.[1] Joe claimed to receive revelations from the Lord where to dig. People would say, "Jo, what did the Lord tell you last night, or what did you dream?" "Jo, what are you going to dig for next?" "Jo, I found a hollow tree or stump; go and see what you can find there." He had a peep-stone which he claimed had an attraction, and he could see hidden things through

---

1. There is no other source to substantiate Sayer's claim that either Hyrum or William Smith dug for money in or near Harmony, Pennsylvania, and Richard L. Anderson has dismissed Sayer's testimony, arguing that Hyrum was indispensable on the Smith farm after Alvin's death in 1823 (R. L. Anderson 1991, 69). D. Michael Quinn postulates a date of 1823 or earlier, drawing on W. R. Hine's comment about seeing Smith in the early 1820s hunting for treasure along the Susquehanna with his "brothers" (Quinn 1998, 50). For Hine's errors and Quinn's use thereof, see annotations to IV.D.10, WILLIAM R. HINE STATEMENT, CIRCA MAR 1885. Sayer does not date his observations, which if based in fact, necessarily occurred sometime between 1827 and 1830.

it. He was generally called the Peeker. He was said to be the laziest whelp about the country. He had men to do the digging. I have heard merchants refuse to trust Jo Smith for a plug of tobacco, but say they would give him one. I well remember when he organized his Mormon Church at Harmony, Pa. My father said at the time that Mormonism would take well with the ignorant English, and would become troublesome in this country. He claimed the Government ought to put a stop to it.

HENRY A. SAYER.

Witnessed by:
A. B. DEMING.[2]

Subscribed and sworn to before me at Willoughby this twenty-fourth day of February, 1885.

A. P. BARBER,[3]
Justice of the Peace in and for Lake County, Ohio.

2. On Arthur B. Deming (1838-19??), see "Introduction to Arthur B. Deming Collection."

3. On A. P. Barber, see III.D.1, W. A. LILLIE STATEMENT, 7 MAR 1885, n. 4.

8.
MR. BENSON ACCOUNT, 1893

Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County, ed. Seraphina Gardner Smith (Dixon, Illinois: Inez A. Kennedy, 1893), 97.

EDITORIAL NOTE

This source inaccurately conflates Joseph Smith's finding the gold plates with his previous searching for treasure in Harmony, Pennsylvania, just as Jacob I. Skinner had told Frederick G. Mather in 1880 (see V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880). It is a third-hand account said to have originated with a "Mr. Benson, whose farm joins the land once owned by Isaac Hale." While I found no Bensons in the assessment records for the 1880s or 1890s, it is possible that Mr. Benson is really Jacob Skinner. Regardless, the account is an example of the kind of folkloric tales circulating in the Harmony area after Joseph Smith's departure.

... A gentleman, now a resident of Amboy [Illinois], who was, three or four years ago in business in Binghampton, New York, gives an interesting account of a visit which he made while there to Harmony township, Pennsylvania, where the plates were said, by Mr. [Joseph] Smith to have been found.[1] The historic spot is on the summit of a high hill not far from the Susquehanna river, and is still visited as a place of interest. The stones which formed the foundations of the derrick used, still surround the deep excavation, which, although partially filled, by the caving in of the earth, is some eighty-five feet deep. A Mr. Benson, whose farm joins the land once owned by Isaac Hale, Mrs. [Emma] Smith's father, and who was familiar with the early history of both the Hale and Smith families, was the guide and instructor of our informant. Smith was about a year in reaching the depth of a hundred or more feet, where he claimed the Angel Meroni [Moroni] had made known to him the plates were to be found. He, with some of his friends,

---

1. This was the assumption of Jacob I. Skinner, then owner of the land (see V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880).

would work at the place until the money gave out, when the work must wait until more means to carry it on were obtained. One enthusiastic follower spent his farm and beggared himself in the search for the hidden treasure.[2] Some people thought Smith insane, but his preaching drew him crowds of followers. ...

2. Perhaps a reference to Josiah Stowell or William Hale.

9.
WILLIAM SMITH REMINISCENCE, 1905

"As to Joe Smith," *Montrose* (Pennsylvania) *Democrat,* 29 June 1905.

EDITORIAL NOTE

William Smith,[1] not related to Joseph Smith, was the son of Jonas Smith of Great Bend, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania. The present item was originally published in the *Hallstead* (PA) *Herald,* but the scarcity of surviving issues precludes publishing the original printing. It has therefore been reproduced from a reprinting in the *Montrose Democrat.*

William Smith, brother of Mrs. McIntosh, is a very interesting personage to converse with. He has lived in this vicinity nearly all of his life and remembers many of the personages who figured so largely in the early settlement of the town and neighboring districts. As a boy he remenbers [remembers] of seeing Joseph Smith, who afterwards became head of the sect known as the Mormons, who founded Salt Lake City in Utah. Mr. Smith remembers too of seeing Emma Hale whom Joe Smith married, says she was often a visitor at his father's house and his recollection of her is that she was a very pretty girl. He remembers of seeing the "peeping stone" which Joe put in his hat and pretended to discover money by so doing. The stone was similar to the speckled stones which are still to be found along the river shore. Mr. Smith's father, Jonas Smith,[2] built the house once occupied by Joe Smith, which is still standing near Oakland, this side of Susquehanna. This is the house which the Mormons talk of purchasing and removing to Salt Lake City. Mr. Smith remembers also of seeing the painting on the rocks something over a mile up the river, which is now effaced, and that it was the picture of on [an] Indian Chieftain in his canoe. Mr. Smith says that both Indian and his canoe were quite plainly to be feen [seen].

---

1. Possibly William Smith, age forty, listed in the 1860 census of Montrose, Susquehanna County, which lists his occupation as "White Washing" (p. 533).

2. Jonas Smith is listed in the Great Bend censuses for 1820 and 1850, as a sixty-three-year-old farmer in the latter (1820:16; 1850:200).

D.
Miscellaneous Non-Resident SOURCES

1.
EBER D. HOWE ACCOUNT, 1834

E[ber]. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed: or, A Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), 18-19, 22.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Eber D. Howe (1798-?) was editor of the Cleveland (Ohio) *Herald* and publisher of the *Painesville* (Ohio) *Telegraph*. His wife and sister converted to Mormonism sometime before 1834. His book, *Mormonism Unvailed*, relied on affidavits collected in western New York by Philastus Hurlbut (see II.F.6, EBER D. HOWE ON MARTIN HARRIS, 1834; "Introduction to Philastus Hurlbut Collection").

... Before the work was completed [in Manchester, New York], under the pretence that some persons were endeavoring to destroy the plates and the prophet, they relate that the Lord commanded them to depart into Pennsylvania, where they could proceed unmolested. Smith, accordingly, removed his family thither; but it appears that it was at the request of his father-in-law, instead of the command of the Lord.[1] A box, which he said contained the plates, was conveyed in a barrel of beans, while on the journey.[2] Soon after this, his father-in-law, Mr. Isaac Hale,[3] on account of his daughter, agreed to sell Smith a part of his farm, provided he would go to [p. 18] work and quit his impositions. He said he had given up his former occupation, and concluded to labor for a living.[4] But, in a few weeks [Martin]

---

1. See V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

2. This is the earliest published reference to Smith conveying the plates to Harmony, Pennsylvania, in a barrel of beans (see III.K.11, EBER D. HOWE ACCOUNT, 1834, 14; see also, e.g., I.A.17, ORSON PRATT ACCOUNT, 1840, 13-14; III.F.10, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEW WITH JOEL TIFFANY, 1859, 170).

3. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

4. Regarding this agreement between Smith and Hale, see V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834; see also V.E.5, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY (PA) LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833.

Harris[5] made his appearance there, and soon after [Oliver] Cowdery,[6] and Smith again commenced looking into the hat, and telling off his bible. In the mean time, Satan had made an assault upon Harris, and robbed him of one hundred and sixteen pages of the bible, which had been translated.[7] Cowdery was the chosen scribe to complete the work; after which the plates were again buried up by the command of the Lord, in a place unknown to the prophet or any other person. ... [p. 19]

The fact respecting the lost manuscript, we have not been able to ascertain. They sometimes charged the wife of Harris with having burnt it; but this is denied by her.[8] They were, however, taken from the possession of Harris, by a miracle wrought by Satan. ... [p. 22]

5. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), who came to Harmony first in February 1828 then again in April-June, see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection."

6. On Oliver Cowdery (1806-50), who came to Harmony in April-May 1829, see "Introduction to Oliver Cowdery Collection."

7. This occurred in June/July 1828 (see III.L.16, BOOK OF MORMON PREFACE, 1829).

8. See discussion in introduction to III.L.16, BOOK OF MORMON PREFACE, 1829.

2.
CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEBRUARY 1834

Charles Anthon to E. D. Howe, 17 February 1834, E[ber]. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed: or, A Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), 270-72.[1]

EDITORIAL NOTE

Charles Anthon (1797-1867) was born in New York City. At age fourteen, he entered Columbia College (then located in Columbia Heights, Manhattan Island) and graduated in 1815. Thereafter he studied law and was admitted to the New York bar in 1819. A gifted scholar of Greek and Latin, in 1820 he became professor of classical studies and literature at Columbia where he taught until his death. He died in New York City (Jessee 1989, 471).

Sometime after Joseph Smith's December 1827 arrival in Harmony, Pennsylvania, he "copyed a considerable number" of the characters from the gold plates (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 9) and gave a copy to Martin Harris, who had come to Harmony in February. Harris took the characters to scholars on the east coast, including the acclaimed Charles Anthon. Exactly what transpired between Harris and Anthon is not clear, but Harris later believed that the encounter fulfilled the prediction in Isaiah 29:11 that the learned would not be able to read the "words of a book that is sealed" (see discussion in "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection").

Publisher E. D. Howe explained his reasons for inquiring after An-

---

1. The Library-Archives of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) possesses a photostatic copy of what appears to be the original handwritten letter from Anthon to Howe. It was donated by Paul M. Hanson (1878-1972), an RLDS apostle from 1913 to 1958. Dale Morgan reported seeing the document in the collection in late 1947 (J. P. Walker 1986, 13, 389, n. 21). However, the signature and handwriting of the letter do not compare favorably with extant samples of known Anthon holographs at Columbia University Library and Cornell University Library. Because of this, together with the unknown pedigree of the RLDS document, I have elected to reproduce the more historically reliable text in Howe's 1834 book.

thon's statement: "Mormonite preachers, and others of the sect, have frequently declared that the engravings upon the plates were, by some of our learned men, who had a specimen shown them, pronounced to be 'reformed Egyptian hieroglyphics,' or 'ancient short hand Egyptian.'—Among others, Professor Anthon, of New York, was frequently mentioned as giving such an opinion. This act of deception and falsehood is only one among hundreds of others, equally gross, which are resorted to by these impostors, to gain proselytes. It being calculated to have considerable weight, when fully believed, we took the liberty to inform Mr. Anthon of the vile use that was made of his name, in this country [Ohio]; and to request of him a statement of the facts respecting it" (Howe 1834, 269-70). Anthon's letter to Howe should be compared with V.D.3, CHARLES ANTHON TO THOMAS WINTHROP COIT, 3 APR 1841.

New York, Feb. 17, 1834.

Dear Sir—I received this morning your favor of the 9th instant, and lose no time in making a reply. The whole story about my having pronounced the Mormonite inscription to be "reformed Egyptian hieroglyphics" is *perfectly false*. Some years ago, a plain, and apparently simple-hearted farmer, called upon me with a note from Dr. [Samuel L.] Mitchell[2] of our city, now deceased, requesting me to decypher, if possible, a paper, which the farmer would hand me, and which Dr. M[itchell]. confessed he had been unable to understand. Upon examining the paper in question, I soon came to the conclusion that it was all a trick, perhaps a *hoax*. When I asked the person, who brought it, how he obtained the writing, he gave me, as far as I can now recollect, the following account: A "gold book," consisting of a number of plates of gold, fastened together in the shape of a book by wires of the same metal, had been dug up in the northern part of the state of New York, and along with the book an enormous pair of "*gold spectacles*"![3] These spectacles were so large, that, if a person attempted to look through them, his two eyes would have to be turned towards *one* of the glasses merely, the spectacles in question being altogether too large for the breadth of the human face. Whoever examined the plates through the spectacles, was enabled not only to *read* them, but fully to *understand* their meaning. All this knowledge, however,

---

2. On Samuel L. Mitchell (1764-1831), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 45.

3. Smith also used the term "spectacles" but subsequently described it as "two stones in silver bows" (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1832, 5; I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 5).

was confined at that time to a young man, who had the trunk containing the book and spectacles in his sole possession. This young man was placed behind a curtain,[4] in the garret of a farm [p. 270] house, and, being thus concealed from view, put on the spectacles occasionally, or rather, looked through one of the glasses, decyphered the characters in the book, and, having committed some of them to paper, handed copies from behind the curtain, to those who stood on the outside. Not a word, however, was said about the plates having been decyphered "by the gift of God." Every thing, in this way, was effected by the large pair of spectacles. The farmer added, that he had been requested to contribute a sum of money towards the publication of the "golden book," the contents of which would, as he had been assured, produce an entire change in the world and save it from ruin. So urgent had been these solicitations, that he intended selling his farm and handing over the amount received to those who wished to publish the plates. As a last precautionary step, however, he had resolved to come to New York, and obtain the opinion of the learned about the meaning of the paper which he brought with him, and which had been given him as a part of the contents of the book, although no translation had been furnished at the time by the young man with the spectacles.[5] On hearing this odd story, I changed my opinion about the paper, and, instead of viewing it any longer as a hoax upon the learned, I began to regard it as part of a scheme to cheat the farmer of his money, and I communicated my suspicions to him, warning him to beware of rogues. He requested an opinion from me in writing, which of course I declined giving,[6] and he then took his leave carrying the paper with him.

---

4. Harris told others that Smith translated from behind a curtain (see III.F.1, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEWS WITH JOHN A. CLARK, 1827 & 1828; see also V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEW WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880).

5. Anthon's statement that "no translation had been furnished" conflicts with Smith's claim that he had "translated" some of the characters for Harris and Harris's report that Anthon gave him "a certificate certifying to the people of Palmyra that they were true characters and that the translation of such of them as had been translated was also correct" (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 8). While Anthon could have said the facsimile contained true characters (which for the most part it does not), he could not have pronounced a translation correct (see V.E.2, BOOK OF MORMON CHARACTERS, DEC 1827-FEB 1828).

6. This statement is apparently contradicted in his 1843 letter which states that he "did so without hesitation" (V.D.3, CHARLES ANTHON TO THOMAS WINTHROP COIT, 3 APR 1843).

This paper was in fact a singular scrawl. It consisted of all kinds of crooked characters disposed in columns, and had evidently been prepared by some person who had before him at the time a book containing various alphabets. Greek and Hebrew letters, crosses and flourishes, Roman letters inverted or placed sideways, who[se scribe had] arranged [them] in perpendicular col[p. 271]umns, and the whole ended in a rude delineation of a circle divided into various compartments, decked with various strange marks, and evidently copied after the Mexican Calender given by Humboldt,[7] but copied in such a way as not to betray the source whence it was derived. I am thus particular as to the contents of the paper, inasmuch as I have frequently conversed with my friends on the subject, since the Mormonite excitement began, and well remember that the paper contained any thing else but "*Egyptian Hieroglyphics.*"[8] Some time after, the same farmer paid me a second visit. He brought with him the golden book in print, and offered it to me for sale. I declined purchasing. He then asked permission to leave the book with me for examination. I declined receiving it, although his manner was strangely urgent. I adverted once more to the roguery which had been in my opinion practised upon him, and asked him what had become of the gold plates. He informed me that they were in a trunk with the large pair of spectacles. I advised him to go to a magistrate and have the trunk examined. He said the "curse of God" would come upon him should he do this. On my pressing him, however, to pursue the course which I had recommended, he told me that he would open the trunk, if I would take the "curse of God" upon myself. I replied that I would do so with the greatest willingness, and would incur every risk of that nature, provided I could only extricate him from the grasp of rogues. He then left me.[9]

---

7. See Alexander [von] Humboldt, *Concerning the Institutions & Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America, with Descriptions & Views of Some of the Most Striking Scenes in the Cordilleras!* trans. Helen Maria Williams (London, 1814), Plates XXIII and XLIX. Orsamus Turner reported that an "informant" claimed Martin Harris had exhibited to him "the manuscript title page. On it were drawn, rudely and bunglingly, concentric circles, between above and below which were characters, with little resemblance to letters; apparently a miserable imitation of hieroglyphics, the writer may have somewhere seen" (III.J.2, ORSAMUS TURNER ACCOUNT, 1851, 215).

8. Anthon's description varies significantly from the surviving fragment of characters in the RLDS Church Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri. Perhaps Smith prepared more than one set of characters (see discussion in introduction to V.E.2, BOOK OF MORMON CHARACTERS, DEC 1827-FEB 1828).

9. The date and circumstances of Harris's second visit to Anthon are un-

I have thus given you a full statement of all that I know respecting the origin of Mormonism, and must beg you, as a personal favor, to publish this letter immediately, should you find my name mentioned again by these wretched fanatics.

Your respectfully,
CHAS. ANTHON.

E. D. Howe, Esq. Painesville, Ohio.

---

known, although it was apparently after March 1830 and before February 1834. It may have been before Harris's departure to Ohio in May 1831 and possibly in connection with his effort to obtain a second mortgage on his farm (see III.F.3, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES BUTLER, CIRCA 1830-1831).

3.
CHARLES ANTHON TO THOMAS WINTHROP COIT, 3 APRIL 1841

Charles Anthon to Thomas Winthrop Coit, 3 April 1841, *Church Record* (Flushing, New York) 1 (17 April 1841): 231-32. Reprinted in John A. Clark, *Gleanings by the Way* (Philadelphia: W. J. & J. K. Simon, 1842), 233-38.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The Reverend Dr. Thomas Winthrop Coit (1803-85) was Rector of Trinity Church at New Rochelle, West Chester County, New York (1839-49). Afterwards he became professor of church history at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut (Kimball 1970, 345-46). In 1841 Coit wrote to Charles Anthon of New York City to request a written statement from him. Coit introduced Anthon's letter with the following words: "Hearing that the Mormons, in New Rochelle, were claiming the patronage of Prof. Anthon's name, in behalf of their notions, I took the liberty to state the fact to him, and ask in what possible way they had contrived to associate him with themselves. He was kind enough to send me a full and very satisfactory reply, which I begged he would permit me to publish" (p. 231).

Commenting on Anthon's letter to the Reverend Coit, Palmyra minister John A. Clark stated that Anthon's account "in the main tallies exceedingly well with what Harris told [him]," except Harris had "kept back in his account of the interview all allusion to the discouragements which the Professor threw upon his enterprise" (Clark 1842, 238). For further discussion of the Anthon/Harris encounter, see discussion in "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection." Also see V.D.2, CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEB 1834.

NEW-YORK, April 3, 1841.

Rev. and Dear Sir,—I have often heard that the Mormons claimed me for an auxiliary, but, as no one, until the present time, has ever requested from me any statement in writing,[1] I have not deemed it worth while to say any thing

1. Eber D. Howe wrote to Anthon "to request of him a statement of the

publicly on the subject. What I do know of the sect, relates to some of their early movements; and as the facts may amuse you, while they will furnish a satisfactory answer to the charge of my being a Mormon proselyte, I proceed to lay them before you in detail.

Many years ago, the precise date I do not now recollect,[2] a plain looking countryman called upon me with a letter from Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell,[3] requesting me to examine, and give my opinion upon, a certain paper, marked with various characters which the Doctor confessed he could not decypher, and which the bearer of the note was very anxious to have explained. A very brief examination of the paper convinced me that it was a mere *hoax,* and a very clumsy one too. The characters were arranged in columns, like the chinese mode of writing, and presented the most singular medley that I had ever beheld. Greek, Hebrew, and all sorts of letters, more or less distorted, either through unskilfulness or from actual design, were intermingled with sundry delineations of half moons, stars, and other natural objects, and the whole ended in a rude representation of the Mexican zodiac.[4] The conclusion was irresistible, that some cunning fellow had prepared the paper in question, for the purpose of imposing upon the countryman who brought it, and I told the man so without any hesitation. He then proceeded to give me the history of the whole affair, which convinced me that he had fallen into the hands of some sharper, while it left me in great astonishment at his own simplicity.

The countryman told me, that a *gold book* had recently been dug up in the western of [or] northern part (I forget which,) of our State, and he described this book as consisting of many *gold plates,* like leaves, secured by a gold wire passing through the edge of each, just as the leaves of a book are sewed together, and presenting in this way the appearance of a volume. Each plate, according to him, was inscribed with unknown characters, and the paper which he had handed me, was, as he assured me, a transcript of one of these pages. On my asking him by whom the copy was made, he gravely stated, that along with the golden book there had been dug up a very large *pair* of *spectacles!* so large in fact, that if a man were to hold them in front of his face, his two eyes would merely look through one of the glasses, and the re-

---

facts" in 1834 (Howe 1834, 270; see also V.D.2, CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEB 1834).

2. February 1828.

3. On Samuel L. Mitchell (1764-1831), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 45.

4. See notes 7 and 8 in V.D.2, CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEB 1834.

maining part of the spectacles would project a considerable distance sideways! These spectacles possessed, it seems, the very valuable property, of enabling any one who looked through them, (or rather through one of the lenses,) not only to decypher the characters on the plates, but also *to comprehend their exact meaning, and to be able to translate them!* My informant assured me, that this curious property of the spectacles had been actually tested, and found to be true. A young man, it seems, had been placed in the garret of a farm-house, with a curtain before him, and, having fastened the spectacles to his head, had read several pages in the golden book, and communicated their contents in writing to certain persons stationed on the outside of the curtain. He had also copied off one page of the book in the original character, which he had in like manner handed over to those who were separated from him by the curtain, and this copy was the paper which the countryman had brought with him. As the golden book was said to contain very great truths, and most important revelations of a religious nature, a strong desire had been expressed by several persons in the countryman's neighbourhood, to have the whole work translated and published. A proposition had accordingly been made to my informant, to sell his farm and apply the proceeds to the printing of the golden book, and the golden plates were to be left with him as security until he should be reimbursed by the sale of the work. To convince him the more clearly that there was no risk whatever in the matter, and that the work was actually what it claimed to be, he was told to take the paper, which purported to be a copy of one of the pages of the book, to the city of New York, and submit it to the learned in that quarter, who would soon dispel all his doubts, and satisfy him as to the perfect safety of the investment. As Dr. [Samuel L.] Mitchell was our "Magnus Apollo" in those days, the man called first upon him; but the Doctor, evidently suspecting some trick, declined giving any opinion about the matter, and sent the countryman down to the college, to see, in all probability, what the "learned pundits" in that place would make of the affair. On my telling the bearer of the paper that an attempt had been made to impose upon him, and defraud him of his property, he requested me to give him my opinion in writing about the paper which he had shown to me. I did so without any hesitation,[5] partly for the man's sake, and partly to let the individual "behind the curtain" see that his trick was discovered. The import of what I wrote was, as far as I can now recollect, simply this, that the

5. This seems to contradict Anthon's earlier claim that he "declined giving" his opinion (V.D.2, CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEB 1834). However, Anthon says, in the prior telling, that he was asked to confirm the genuineness of the characters, whereas this time he says he was asked to deny their authentic quality.

marks in the paper appeared to be merely an imitation of various alphabetic characters, and had in my opinion no meaning at all connected with them. The countryman then took his leave, with many thanks, and with the express declaration that he would in no shape part with his farm or embark in the speculation of printing the golden book.

The matter rested here for a considerable time, until one day, when I had ceased entirely to think of the countryman and his paper, this same individual, to my great surprise, paid me a second visit. He now brought with him a duodecimo volume, which he said was a translation into English of the "Golden Bible." He also stated, that, notwithstanding his original determination, he had been induced eventually to sell his farm, and apply the money to the publication of the book, and had received the golden plates as a security for repayment.[6] He begged my acceptance of the volume, assuring me that it would be found extremely interesting, and that it was already "making a great noise" in the upper part of the State. Suspecting, now, that some serious trick was on foot, and that my plain-looking visitor might be in fact a very cunning fellow, I declined his present, and merely contented myself with a slight examination of the volume while he stood by. The more I declined receiving it, however, the more urgent the man became in offering the book, until at last I told him plainly, that if he left [p. 231] the volume, as he said he intended to do, I should most assuredly throw it after him as he departed. I then asked him how he could be so foolish as to sell his farm and engage in this affair; and requested him to tell me if the plates were really of gold. In answer to this latter enquiry, he said, that he had never seen the plates themselves, which were carefully locked up in a trunk, but that he had the trunk in his possession.[7] I advised him by all means to open the trunk and examine its contents, and if the plates proved to be of gold, which I did not believe at all, to sell them immediately. His reply was, that if he opened the trunk the "*curse of Heaven would descend upon him and his children.*" "However," added he, "I will agree to open it, provided you will take the 'curse of Heaven' upon yourself, for having advised me to the step." I told him I was perfectly willing to do so, and begged him to hasten home and examine the

---

6. It is not known when Harris made his second visit (see V.D.2, CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEB 1834, n. 9), but Anthon is certainly incorrect about Harris receiving the gold plates as security.

7. By the time of the Book of Mormon's publication in March 1830, Harris had seen the plates in vision (in June 1829). Evidently Anthon mixed part of Harris's first conversation with the second. This conclusion is also supported by comparison with Anthon's 1834 letter (see V.D.2, CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEB 1834).

trunk, for he would find he had been cheated. He promised to do as I recommended, and left me taking his book with him. I have never seen him since.

Such is a plain statement of all that I know respecting the Mormons. My impression now is, that the plain-looking countryman was none other than the prophet Smith himself, who assumed an appearance of great simplicity in order to entrap me, if possible, into some recommendation of his book.[8] That the prophet aided me, by his inspiration, in interpreting the volume, is only one of the many amusing falsehoods which the Mormonites utter relative to my participation in their doctrines. Of these doctrines I know nothing whatever, nor have I ever heard a single discourse from any one of their preachers, although I have often felt a strong curiosity to become an auditor, since my friends tell me that they frequently name me in their sermons, and even go so far as to say that I am alluded to in the prophecies of Scripture!

If what I have here written shall prove of any service in opening the eyes of some of their deluded followers to the real designs of those who profess to be the apostles of Mormonism, it will afford me a satisfaction equalled, I have no doubt, only by that which you yourself will feel on this subject.

I remain very respectfully and truly,
Your friend,
CHAS. ANTHON.

Rev. Dr. Coit, New Rochelle, N.Y.

8. The numerous statements of Martin Harris as well as those who knew him at the time disprove Anthon's supposition (see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection").

4.
CHARLES THOMPSON ACCOUNT, 1841

Charles Thompson, *Evidences in Proof of the Book of Mormon* (Batavia, New York: D. D. White, 1841), 107-108.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Charles B. Thompson (1814-95) was born in Niscayuna, Schenectady County, New York. He received his elder's license in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1836. He was subsequently ordained a seventy and served a mission in New York in 1840. From 1847 to 1862, he lived in St. Louis, Missouri. He died in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Cook and Backman 1985, 104).

Thompson's 1841 account is unusual in that it neglects to mention Charles Anthon but emphasizes that Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell was the one who was unable to read the Book of Mormon characters in fulfillment of Isaiah 29:11 (see V.D.2, CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEB 1834; V.D.3, CHARLES ANTHON TO THOMAS WINTHROP COIT, 3 APR 1841; and "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection"). Thompson's book received a favorable review in the *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 January 1842): 643.

... But again, when this Book [of Mormon] was taken from the place of its deposit, the words thereof were delivered to the learned Dr. [Samuel L.] Mitchel[1] of New-York, with a request that he should read them, but he said he could not; thus fulfiling the 11th verse of the 29th chapter of Isaiah, which says, the words of a Book which is sealed men deliver to one that is learned, saying, read this I pray thee; and he saith I cannot for it is sealed. And the Book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying read this I pray thee; and he saith I am not learned. Wherefore the Lord said, for as much as this people, (the people of this generation,) draw near me with their mouths, and with their lips do honor me; but have removed their hearts far from me, and their fear towards me is taught by the precepts of men; therefore behold, I will proceed to do a marvelous work among this people, even a marvelous work and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and [p. 107] the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid. And this he has done—

---

1. On Samuel L. Mitchell (1764-1831), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 45.

First; by inspiring the unlearned Joseph Smith, and giving him wisdom and power from on high, with the means which were before prepared, to read and translate the Book of Mormon, the words of which the learned Dr. Mitchel could not read; thus the wisdom of the wise has perished and the understanding of the prudent is hid.

Secondly.—By raising up and inspiring illiterate and unlearned men, and sending them forth with the Book of Mormon in connection with the Bible. ...

5.
EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873

Emily Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1873), 577-82 ("Appendix").

EDITORIAL NOTE

Emily C. Blackman (1826-?) was born in Gilbertsville, New York. Her father, Josiah Blackman (1794-1875), was a practicing physician who brought his family to Montrose, Pennsylvania, in 1836. She was a school teacher, about whom it was said that she could read the Bible in ten different languages and that she spoke fluent German and French. She was an active Presbyterian. Her monumental history of Susquehanna County, published in 1873, has been described as "a most carefully compiled and meritorious work, in the preparation of which she spent four years of earnest and painstaking research and labor. Competent critics have pronounced it a most excellent and commendable work." Because of ill health, she spent her last years in Florida where she died sometime after 1900 (*Commemorative Biographical Record of Northeastern Pennsylvania,* 1900, 2:1157; *Looking Back,* ca. 1960, [29]).

Most of the material dealing with Mormonism was placed in an appendix (577-82) titled: "Joe Smith, The Mormon Prophet." Blackman's original manuscript is located in the Susquehanna Historical Society and Free Library at Montrose, Pennsylvania.

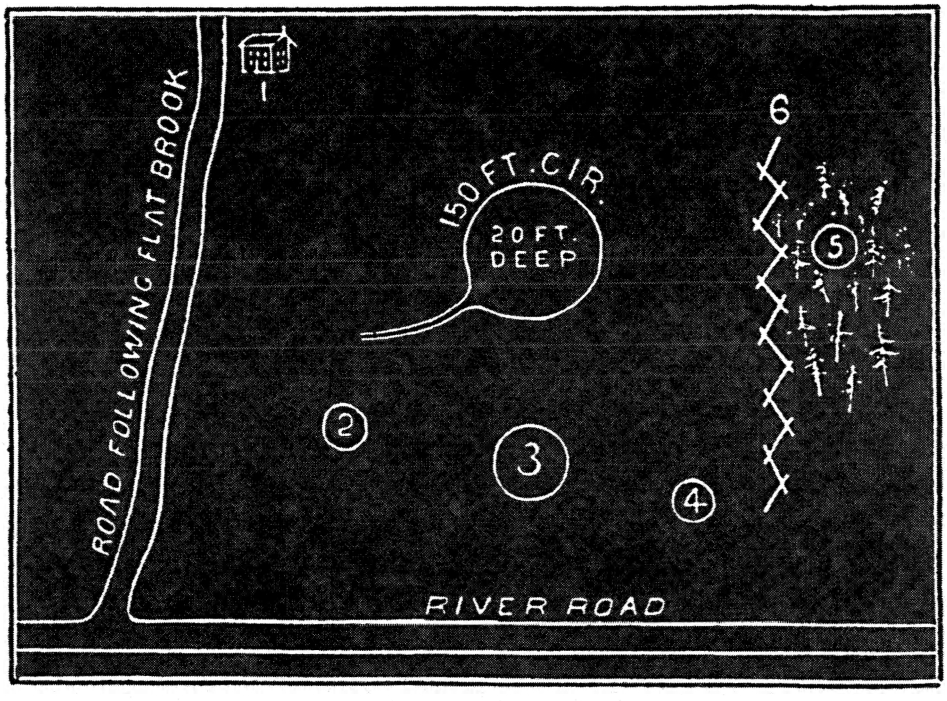
It is a fact, of which we are not particularly proud, that Susquehanna County harbored such a madman as Joe Smith at the period when he was engaged in the compilation, or, rather, the translation, of the Book of Mormon. But to the fact itself there are living witnesses, with some of whom the writer has conversed.

There appears to be some uncertainty as to the time of his arrival in Harmony (now Oakland), but it is certain he was here in 1825[1] and later; and, in 1829, his operations here were finished, and he had left the county.[2]

---

1. Smith arrived with Josiah Stowell about 1 November 1825 (see V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825).

2. Smith moved permanently from Harmony in September 1830, although he continued to own property there until 1833 (see V.E.5, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY [PA] LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833).



Emily C. Blackman's "JOE SMITH'S DIGGINGS," from her *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania*. The legend reads: "1. Situation of J. I. Skinner's house. 2. Pit filled and grain growing over it. 3. A larger pit filled. 4. A smaller one partly filled. 5. A pit that has not been disturbed, in the woods. 6. Fence. Relative positions only, not exactly proportionate distances, are here given."

In 1830 the Book of Mormon was published, the requisite funds being furnished, it is said, by Martin Harris,[3] a coadjutor of Smith during its translation, and who had sold his farm for the purpose, and reduced his family to straits in consequence.[4] His wife and daughters were greatly exasperated at his course, but he appeared to have been a sincere believer, firmly convinced of the truth of Mormonism. (Mrs. David Lyons,[5] of Lanesboro, once heard Joe's wife [Emma][6] speak of Mrs. [Lucy] Harris'[7] complaints to her of the destruction of the family.) ...[8]

The first reference in the county papers to Joe's influence appears to have been in November, 1831, and December, 1832, when "two or three wretched zealots of Mormonism created much excitement, and made some proselytes in a remote district on the borders of this county and Luzerne."[9] The new converts then purposed removing to "the promised land," near Painsville, Ohio.

In December, 1833, Isaac Hale,[10] of Harmony, addressed a letter to D[octor]. P[hilastus]. Hurlburt,[11] in the State of Ohio, in reply to his application for "a history of facts [p. 577] relating to the character of Joseph Smith,

---

3. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection."

4. See III.L.14, MARTIN HARRIS MORTGAGE, 25 AUG 1829.

5. David Lyons (1806-?), age fifty-four, appears with his wife Amanda, age fifty-three, in the 1860 census of Oakland, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, as a Massachusetts-born farmer (1860:331). "David Lion" also appears in the Harmony tax records during the 1820s and 1830s (Harmony Tax Records, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania).

6. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

7. On Lucy Harris (1792-1837), see introduction to III.A.7, LUCY HARRIS STATEMENT, 29 NOV 1833.

8. Blackman here quotes the testimony of J. B. Buck from an unidentified source. This testimony is treated separately (see V.C.2, J. B. BUCK ACCOUNT, CIRCA 1873).

9. While the *Independent Volunteer* contains articles dealing with Mormonism on 11 November 1831 and 7 December 1832, the first dealing with a Mormon missionary in Illinois (cf. III.K.7, *ILLINOIS PATRIOT,* 16 SEP 1831) and the second with the Mormons in Missouri, neither includes the quote Blackman gives. The *Susquehanna Register* contains no reference to Mormonism for either date.

10. On Isaac Hale (1763-1839), see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

11. On Philastus Hurlbut (1809-83), see "Introduction to Philastus Hurlbut Collection."

Jr., author of the Book of Mormon, called by some the Golden Bible." The Mormons pronounced the letter a *forgery,* and said that Isaac Hale was blind, and could not write his name. This was followed by a request from another gentleman [E. D. Howe][12] of Ohio, that Mr. Hale would assist in laying open Mormonism to the world, by drawing up a full narrative of the transactions wherein Smith, Jr., was concerned, and attesting the same before a magistrate. The result is here given:— ...[13]

Many stories respecting Joe Smith are still current in the localities he frequented here:—

"A straggling Indian, who was passing up the Susquehanna, had told of buried *treasure.* Joseph, hearing of this, hunted up the Indian, and induced him to reveal the place where it was buried. The Indian told him that a point, a certain number of paces due north from the highest point of Turkey Hill, on the opposite side of the Susquehanna River,[14] was the place. Joseph now looked about for some man of means to engage in the enterprise. He induced a well-to-do farmer by the name of [Oliver?] Harper, of Harpersville, N.Y., to go in with him.[15] [p. 579] They commenced digging on what is now the farm of Jacob I. Skinner,[16] in Oakland township. After digging a great hole, that is still to be seen, Harper got discouraged, and was about abandoning the enterprise. Joseph now declared to Harper that there was an *enchantment* about the place that was removing the treasure farther off; that Harper must

---

12. On Eber D. Howe (1798-?), see "Introduction to Philastus Hurlbut Collection."

13. On pages 578-79, Blackman quotes the statements of Isaac Hale, Alva Hale, Hezekiah McKune, Levi Lewis, Nathaniel Lewis, and Sophia Lewis from the *Susquehanna Register.* Regarding the Mormon response to Isaac Hale's statement, see introduction to V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834.

14. Blackman further identifies Turkey Hill as "the elevation south of where the river begins to turn northward around the base of Oquago Mountain" (Blackman 1873, 101).

15. If Blackman intends Oliver Harper, her statement is incorrect since Harper was murdered in May 1824 (p. 79) and Smith arrived in November 1825 (p. 577). Harper did not live in Harpursville, but two miles below the village of Windsor in Broome County, New York (Stocker 1887, 573). Blackman's source and the authority for a Smith-Harper association remain unknown. On Harper (ca. 1784-1824), see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879, n. 7.

16. On Jacob I. Skinner (1815-?), see introduction to V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

get a perfectly *white dog,*[17] and sprinkle his blood over the ground, and that would prevent the enchantment from removing the treasure. Search was made all over the country, but no perfectly white dog could be found. Joseph said he thought a *white sheep* would do as well. A sheep was killed, and his blood sprinkled as directed.[18] The digging was then resumed by Harper. After spending $2000 he utterly refused to go any further. Joseph now said that the enchantment had removed all the treasure; that the Almighty was displeased with them for attempting to palm off on Him a white sheep for a white dog, and had allowed the enchantment to remove the treasure. He would sit for hours looking into his hat at the *round colored stone,* and tell of seeing things far away and supernatural. At times he was melancholy and sedate, as often hilarious and mirthful; an imaginative enthusiast, constitutionally opposed to work, and a general favorite with the ladies.

"Smith early put on the airs of a prophet, and was in the habit of 'blessing' his neighbors' crops for a small consideration. On one occasion a neighbor [Michael Morse] had a piece of corn planted rather late, and on a moist piece of ground, and, feeling a little doubtful about its ripening, got Smith to bless it. It happened that that was the only piece of corn killed by the frost in the neighborhood. When the prophet's attention was called to the matter, he got out of the difficulty by saying that he made a mistake, and put a curse on the corn instead of a blessing. Rather an unneighborly act, and paid for, too!"[19]

Harris came from Coventry, Chenango County, N.Y. [Query. Was he not the same Martin Harris who, in 1799, was imprisoned and broke jail at Wilkes-Barre?][20]

---

17. A footnote in the original reads: "Another version of this is: 'To remove the enchantment, Joe's followers killed a *black* dog, in lieu of the desired black ram, and dragged it around and around in the pit.'" Cf. Jacob I. Skinner's account in V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

18. For Smith's possible use of animal sacrifice in Harmony, Pennsylvania, see also V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879; and V.C.4, MICHAEL MORSE INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM W. BLAIR, 8 MAY 1879.

19. Blackman's source is unknown. Michael Morse, husband of Emma Smith's sister Tryal, later confirmed that he was the unnamed neighbor in the story (see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879).

20. The bracketed query is Blackman's; the answer is undoubtedly a negative. Martin Harris did not come from Coventry, New York, but from Palmyra, New York.

Joe often told Mrs. D[avid]. Lyons of the hidden treasure, and of the "enchantment" about it, and that it was necessary that *one of the company should die* before the enchantment could be broken.[21]

After Oliver Harper's death[22] the digging was prosecuted with renewed energy. Harper had been efficient in procuring men and means to carry on the enterprise, which was not to search for the "plates" from which Joe pretended to receive revelations, but for reported hidden treasure.

A belief that money will yet be found as predicted still affects some weak characters, and even within the last five years digging has been carried on slyly at night on or towards Locust Hill, but not in the same place where Joe's believers worked.

The compiler has herself visited the place where the Book of Mormon was prepared for publication. A part of the building forms the rear of the house at present occupied by Mrs. Joseph McKune.[23] It was (in Joe's time) close by the brook, and had been used by Mr. [Isaac] Hale for dressing deer-skins. Mrs. [David] Lyons saw both Smith and Harris there with the manuscript in hand.

Samuel Brush,[24] of Oakland, often talked with Harris upon the subject of the translation; but, though Mr. B[rush]. was often in company with Joe

---

21. As Blackman states below, Lyons's account refers to 1825, "when the digging was renewed after Harper's death, and Joe himself was present" (p. 581). Michael Morse also remembered hearing that "there must be a sacrifice of a *man* before the treasure could be obtained" but that a dog was sacrificed instead (V.C.4, MICHAEL MORSE INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM W. BLAIR, 8 MAY 1879). Note that neither Lyons nor Morse connects Harper's death with a requirement for human sacrifice. The connection is Blackman's, who perhaps reflects the opinion of some later residents.

22. Oliver Harper was allegedly robbed and murdered by Jason Tredwell on 11 May 1824. Tredwell was tried and hanged on 13 January 1825 at Montrose, Pennsylvania. During the trial, held 1-5 September 1824, Tredwell and other witnesses implicated Harper in counterfeiting activities in the area (Court Records, Susquehanna County Historical Society and Free Library, Montrose, Pennsylvania).

23. On Sarah (Sally) McKune (ca. 1794-?), wife of Joseph McKune, Jr., see introduction to V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

24. On Samuel Brush (1808-84), see introduction to V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

Smith, fishing, etc., the latter never referred to it, and "this was after all the digging."

Reference has been made to the difference of opinion in regard to Joe's first operations in Susquehanna County. R. C. Doud[25] asserts that in 1822 he was employed, with thirteen others, by Oliver Harper, to dig for gold under Joe's directions (though the latter was not present at the time), on Joseph McKune's land: and that Joe had begun operations the year previous.[26] He states that George Harper,[27] a brother of Oliver, had no faith in the enter[p. 580]prise, but tracked the party to Hale's farm. The digging was kept up constantly; seven resting and seven at work.

On the old Indian road from Windsor to Chenango Point [now Binghamton], about four miles west of Windsor, men were digging, at the same time, for silver, upon Joe's telling them where it could be found. Mr. D[oud]. further states that he himself had no faith at all, but hired out at so much per day, and it was of no consequence to him whether his employer gained his point or not.

It is said that even Mr. Isaac Hale was at first a little deluded about the digging, while he boarded the party.[28] This probably was some time before he had met Joe Smith; as it would appear, that the time referred to by Mrs.

---

25. An R. C. Dowd, in his forties, appears in the 1840 census of Windsor, New York. He may be the same Russell Dowd listed in the 1820 and 1830 censuses of Windsor (1820:15; 1830:92).

26. Blackman does not state why Doud believed Harper dug at Smith's direction. However, Doud's "opinion" conflicts with Isaac Hale's testimony that he first saw Smith in Harmony in 1825 (see V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834) and that of Joseph and Hiel Lewis who reported that digging in Harmony began under the direction of a seeress named Odle (V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879). Doud may have simply assumed that Smith had always directed the money diggers. Since it was Doud's "opinion," without eyewitness testimony, D. Michael Quinn's attempt to overturn traditional chronology, based partly on Doud's statement, is misdirected (Quinn 1998, 49, 54, 55, 129).

27. George Harper, Jr., was apparently arrested in 1826 on a charge of counterfeiting (Broome County Courthouse, Binghamton, New York), but the outcome of this trial is unknown. Harper is listed, in his seventies, in the 1830 census of Windsor, Broome County (1830:90).

28. This is perhaps supported by the fact that Hale's name appears only as a witness on the V.E.1, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOV 1825; cf. V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

D[avid]. Lyons, was in 1825, when the digging was renewed after Harper's death, and Joe himself was present.

Jacob I. Skinner, son of Jacob (who was twin-brother of Israel Skinner), has the deed of the land on which Joe's followers experimented. It is something over a quarter of a mile north of the river to "the diggings," up Flat Brook. The accompanying diagram will illustrate the relative position of the pits. ...[29]

Starting from Susquehanna Depot to reach this place, one crosses the bridge and turns to the left following the road nearest the river, which strikes the old river road at Shutt's house; then continuing on down until he crosses a creek and comes in sight of a school-house, with a grove beyond it, in front of which, on the opposite side of the road, is a graveyard.[30] Just above the school-house he turns into a road on the right, and follows up "Flat Brook" to the farm now owned by J. I. Skinner. From his house a path leads about 120 yards southeast to the largest excavation,[31] which was also the *last* one, from which proceeds a drain about twelve rods long.

The sides of the pits were once perpendicular, but one has been wholly filled up, and corn is growing over it; another, in addition to the large one mentioned, is now partially filled, and the sides in consequence are sloping. In the fourth (the one just over the fence), no alteration has been made, ex[p. 581]cept as cattle have pushed in the surface around it to reach the water which gathers there. It is under the trees, the land not having yet been cleared.[32]

---

29. Then follows a diagram and a legend of "Joe Smith's Diggings." In Blackman's manuscript, she pasted a clipping of the printed diagram over her original, identical drawing.

30. Known as the McKune Cemetery, which boarders Joseph Smith's former property on the east.

31. According to Blackman's diagram, this pit was twenty feet deep and 150 feet in circumference.

32. The excavations described by Blackman are northeast of Joseph Smith's Harmony residence. In October 1992 I was unable to discover any traces of them, but in August 1968 and March 1970, Larry C. Porter was more successful: "There are definite disturbances of the earth in the area represented by her diagram, and one can piece together her intended identification of those 'pits' on the ground. Some have been filled in and are practically obscured by the undergrowth. However, it is obvious that there was a 'man-made' effort to excavate a series of holes at some time or another. Digging in that vicinity would have been extremely difficult because of the preponderance of rock" (Porter 1971, 127). A photograph of what appears to be one of the smaller excavations was taken by George E. Anderson in 1907 (reproduced in Holzapfel and Cottle 1991, 163).

Poor Emma Hale Smith lived long enough to rue her "inquiry into Joe's character;" the pretext she gave for leaving home the day she went with him to be married.[33]

(Her mother [Elizabeth Lewis Hale][34] said to Mrs. D[avid]. Lyons, "Don't you think Emma was such a goose as to go up to Joe's father's to find out his character?")[35]

Joe Smith removed to Ohio where he founded a church; from there the "Saints" moved to Independence, Mo., Smith following them [in] January, 1838. From Independence they went to Nauvoo, Illinois, where Smith was imprisoned, on a warrant obtained by the owners of the "Expositor" newspaper, which had been demolished by Smith's orders. On the 27th of June, 1844, a mob of nearly two hundred men broke into the jail and shot Joseph Smith, Jr., and Hiram,[36] his brother.

---

33. Isaac Hale said that Joseph took Emma while he was gone (V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834).

34. On Elizabeth Lewis Hale (1767-1842), see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, n. 184.

35. Actually, Joseph and Emma were married in South Bainbridge on 18 January 1827 before they went to Manchester, New York.

36. On Hyrum Smith (1800-44), see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, n. 12.

6.
AMBOY (IL) *JOURNAL*, 23 APRIL 1879

"The Histories of Mormonism," *Amboy* (IL) *Journal,* 23 April 1879.

EDITORIAL NOTE

This item preceded the *Amboy Journal*'s publication of the Joseph and Hiel Lewis statements about Joseph Smith's activities in Harmony, Pennsylvania (see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879). It includes additional insight into the Lewises' claims.

Now extant, being incomplete in respect to the foundation and early history of that gigantic fraud; a gentleman in Salt Lake City has undertaken a new book,[1] and for information on some points has opened correspondence with parties in this vicinity, who were intimately acquainted with Joseph Smith, the prophet, and founder of the institution. His first and only legitimate wife was a sister of David Hale,[2] and cousin of Joseph, Miles and Hiel Lewis,[3] all of whom are well known to our readers.

His so-called "money digging," of which so little is said in his histories, was in Susquehanna Co. Pa. Smith declared that vast treasures were hidden on this spot, and interested men of money sufficiently to procure funds to bear the expense of searching for it. Mr. Ira Stevens[4] of East Grove Township

---

1. The man writing a book in Salt Lake City was probably James T. Cobb. On 2 July 1879 the *Amboy Journal* published a letter by Cobb which mentioned several Mormon books defending Joseph Smith's character, then wrote: "Solid facts respecting the real origin of the Book of Mormon, and Mormonism, are probably known in their entirety to but a few persons. ... [T]hey are known to some and will, ere long be given to the world." Cobb never published his book, but much of his research was published in Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal, *Joseph Smith, the Prophet, His Family and His Friends* (Salt Lake City, 1886).

2. On David Hale (1794-1878), who died at Amboy, Lee County, Illinois, see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, n. 186.

3. Joseph, Miles, and Hiel Lewis were the sons of Nathaniel Lewis. On Joseph and Hiel Lewis, see introduction to V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879.

4. Perhaps Ira H. Stevens, listed in his twenties in the 1830 census of Palmyra, Wayne County, New York (1830:45). This may be the same Ira Stevens,

[Illinois], lately deceased, was in his employ as head workman, and had charge of the excavation. The project was abandoned only when the prophet declared the enchantment was so great he could see no farther, and to dispel it, a snow white dog must be slain and its warm blood sprinkled in the hole. His adherents sought far and wide for a white dog, but none were to be found. Smith then thought a white sheep would do—one was brought, its fleece thoroughly cleaned, the sheep was slain and its blood administered as directed; but the enchantment was as great as ever, and the pursuit of wealth in those diggings had to be abandoned.[5] This place was so near the residence of Mr. Hiel Lewis that he says he could stand on his door step and lodge a bullet in the hole with a rifle.[6]

One of the "Saints" living less than ten miles from Amboy, who for many years has been an earnest supporter of Mormonism, [who] was with the Prophet at Nauvoo, and has preached Mormonism to the best of his knowledge and belief: says that in a vision recently he saw Joseph Smith in full uniform and mounted on his horse as he used to appear on dress parade with his Nauvoo legion, standing amidst the flames of hell. That settled the question with him, and that Elder will preach no more Mormonism. The material for the book spoken of at the head of this article is nearly gathered and we promise it will be full of interest.

---

age fifty-six, listed in the 1860 census of Hamilton, Lee County, Illinois, as a farmer from New York (1860:377). His wife, Amanda, was born in Pennsylvania, and his five children, ranging in age from eleven to nineteen, were all born in Ohio.

5. Cf. V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 580.

6. This is a slight exaggeration. In 1873 Blackman reported that Nathaniel Lewis's old residence was then occupied by L. P. Hinds (Blackman 1873, 102), and Beers' *Atlas of Susquehanna* (1872, 17) locates Hinds on the farm west of J. M. Tillman, then the owner of Isaac Hale's farm (Blackman 1873, 103). For a time, Nathaniel Lewis resided on the next farm west of Isaac Hale's residence, whereas the holes were situated northeast of Hale's home (see V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 579-80). Lewis subsequently moved south of the Susquehanna River (Blackman 1873, 102).

7.
RHAMANTHUS M. STOCKER ACCOUNT, 1887

Rhamanthus M. Stocker, *Centennial History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: R. T. Peck and Co., 1887), 554-56.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Rhamanthus M. Stocker (1848-?) was born in Salem, Wayne County, Pennsylvania. He was admitted to the bar of Wayne County in 1886, and for many years practiced law in Honesdale. In 1886 he helped prepare the *History of Wayne, Pike and Monroe Counties,* then served as editor of the present volume. He was an elder in the Presbyterian Church of Honesdale where he was still living in 1900 (see *Commemorative Biographical Record of Northeastern Pennsylvania,* 1900, 1:152).

JOE SMITH, THE FOUNDER OF MORMONISM, built the original part of the house now occupied by ex-Sheriff [Benjamin] McKune,[1] and here he projected schemes which, although seemingly so absurd to rational persons, have nevertheless brought him many followers and given him world-wide notoriety. There are several persons now residing in this vicinity who lived here at the time Smith was here. He is described as having been a tall and strong man, light complexioned, quite fond of ardent liquors, not infrequently drunk, by no means intelligent in feature nor prepossessing in appearance, and in education quite limited. His wife [Emma Hale Smith][2] was quite tall, of comely form and feature, well educated, a fine singer and very social.

Mrs. Eliza Winters Squires,[3] now living in Oakland borough [formerly Harmony], was often at Smith's house and much in Mrs. [Emma] Smith's

---

1. On Benjamin F. McKune (ca. 1858-?), see V.C.3, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE REMINISCENCE, 1877, n. 7.

2. On Emma Hale Smith (1804-79), see "Introduction to Emma Smith Collection."

3. On Elizabeth Winters Squires (1802-?), see introduction to V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

company. The young women were on very intimate terms, and very many times did Mrs. Smith tell her young friend about the finding of the "golden plates" or the "golden Bible." Mrs. Smith said that it was found in the woods, near Palmyra, N.Y. That according to revelations that Smith received, they proceeded. They went on horseback into the woods. At a certain place her horse stopped, and Smith then told her to go no farther. But he continued until after getting out of her sight, when his horse put its nose against a tree; and here he alighted, and at the roots of this tree, a little beneath the surface, he found the "golden Bible." Putting it underneath his waist-coat, he returned to the place where he had left his wife, and, concealing it under the hearthstone in the house at Palmyra until they removed to Oakland,[4] he brought it here in a barrel [p. 554] of beans[5] and hid it in a pit he made in the woods on the side-hill above the house. It was written in an unknown language; hence its translation became necessary in the manner in which it was done. Mrs. Smith was mainly in sympathy with her husband, and firmly believed all he told her respecting the things that were revealed to him. ... [p. 555] ...[6]

From the testimony of several persons now living in Oakland it appears that on several occasions Smith was led to acknowledge that he was a deceiver, and that his pretended revelations had no foundation. Mrs. Squires says that Mrs. [Lucy] Harris[7] destroyed about one hundred pages of her husband's manuscript, and that Smith dare not attempt another translation of it for fear that it would not conform with the first translation.

Before Smith left this place, and for some time after he went away, many efforts were made to find the golden Bible, and digging for the hidden treasures also continued. The excavations in this locality were principally on

---

4. According to Lucy Smith and Martin Harris, the plates were moved from under the hearthstone and hidden in the Smiths' cooper shop (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:67-68; III.F.10, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEW WITH JOEL TIFFANY, 1859, 166-67).

5. A number of sources mention that Smith transported the plates in a barrel of beans (see III.K.11, EBER D. HOWE ACCOUNT, 1834, 18; I.A.17, ORSON PRATT ACCOUNT, 1840, 13-14; V.A.8, HIEL LEWIS TO [JAMES T. COBB?], 29 SEP 1829; V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880).

6. What follows on pages 555-56, Stocker took from V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 577-82.

7. On Lucy Harris (1792-1837), see introduction to III.A.7, LUCY HARRIS STATEMENT, 29 NOV 1833.

lands now owned by Jacob I. Skinner.[8] The place is about one and a half miles west of Oakland borough, on the side-hill above the McKune Cemetery. The excavations are still plainly discernible. Smith probably did not take his departure until about 1831, as he had a boy living with him that attended Miss [Lusena] Hupman's school during the summer of 1830.[9] Joseph Fowler McCune,[10] now residing in Windsor, Broome County, N.Y., boarded in this neighborhood and attended school at Hickory Grove while Smith was engaged in translating the Bible, and was quite often in Smith's house. Mr. McCune states that Reuben Hale[11] acted as scribe a part of the time.[12] He says Smith's hat was a very large one, and what is commonly called a "stove-pipe." The hat was on the table by the window and the stone in the bottom or rather in the top of the hat. Smith would bend over the hat with his face buried in it so that no light could enter it, and thus dictate to the scribe what he should write. It is said by those now living here, who were in this locality during Smith's operations, that at first Smith made no pretensions touching religion, nor was anything said about the golden Bible; but that he was able to point out the places where treasures could be found was his first pretension. To some he represented that the gold and silver was in the form of coin in an iron chest, to others it was in bars, and to others that it was in the richest kind of ore. ... [p. 556]

---

8. On Jacob I. Skinner (1815-?), see introduction to V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880.

9. Due to persecution in Harmony, Newel Knight conveyed Smith to the Whitmer home in Fayette, New York, probably between 5 and 26 September 1830. Lusena Hupman taught school at Prospect School, which was erected in 1830, but the identity of the young man remains unknown (see V.E.8, LUSENA HUPMAN BILL, 1830).

10. Joseph Fowler McKune (1815-?) was the son of Robert McKune (1786-1861) and the grandson of Joseph McKune, Sr. (1762-1850) (Blackman 1873, 105, 574). Joseph F., at age forty-five, is listed as a farmer, along with his wife Betsey, age forty-four, and three children, in the 1860 census of Windsor, Broome County, New York (1860:769).

11. On Reuben Hale (1810-?), see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, n. 188.

12. Emma Smith also named Reuben Hale as a scribe (I.F.3, EMMA SMITH BIDAMON INTERVIEW WITH JOSEPH SMITH III, FEB 1879, n. 12).

8.
E. W. SKINNER ACCOUNT, 1898

C. R. Marks, "Monona County, Iowa, Mormons," *Proceedings of the Academy of Science and Letters of Sioux City, Iowa* 1 (1903-4): 86.

EDITORIAL NOTE

C. R. Marks introduces his account of Joseph Smith's activities in Harmony, Pennsylvania, as follows: "The following matters were furnished me by Mr. E. W. Skinner, of Sioux City, Iowa, who acquired them from his parents and grand-parents, as having occurred in the place of Mr. Skinner's birth" (85). Elisha William Skinner (1834-1906), son of Jacob and Polly (Winters) Skinner, was born at Lanesboro, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania. After the death of his maternal grandfather, Silas Winters, in 1820, his grandmother, Phebe (Phelps) Winters, married Joseph McKune, Sr., about 1827 (Ancestral File, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah; Daughters of the American Revolution Patriot Index; Joseph McKune Will, 9 April 1838, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania; Harmony, Susquehanna County Census Record, 1850).

Joseph Smith came to the towns of South Bend and Harmony, in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, probably prior to 1830, before he claimed to have discovered the plates of the Book of Mormon. He had with him a brother, probably Hyrum Smith,[1] and Martin Harris,[2] and another man.[3] Harris was the man who helped Smith translate the Book of Mormon and furnished the money to print it. Joseph Smith there rented a two-story board house of Joseph McKewon,[4] an uncle of E. W. Skinner. He had with him a stone which he claimed had some supernatural qualities, and its size was not equal to that of a man's fist. Smith would take this into a dark room, put it into his hat, and then hold the hat over his face and claimed he could

---

1. Rather Samuel Harrison Smith.

2. On Martin Harris (1783-1875), see "Introduction to Martin Harris Collection." However, Harris did not visit Harmony until 1828 after Smith had ended his treasure seeking activities in the area.

3. Perhaps a reference to Josiah Stowell.

4. Joseph McKune, Jr. (ca. 1794-1861), lived on a farm which adjoined the Smith property on the north.

then see where gold could be found. He carried this stone with him, and consulted it often, and he had his brother, Harris and the other man dig for the gold in the places the stone indicated along the sides of the mountains. Some of the places were at the back end of the farms of Israel Skinner and Joseph McKewon, Sr.,[5] Mr. E. W. Skinner's grand-parents.[6] Smith did not do any digging himself, and no gold was actually found. He married his wife there; her name was Emma Hale;[7] he lived there possibly two years. One of Mr. Skinner's relatives prepared a manuscript history of Smith's career there for publication at a time when his life was being written up, but for some reason it was never published.[8]

5. On Joseph McKune, Sr. (1762-1850), see V.C.3, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE REMINISCENCE, 1877, n. 6.

6. On the location of these diggings, see V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 581.

7. On Emma Smith (1804-79), see "Introduction to Emma Smith Bidamon Collection."

8. This manuscript is not extant.

E.
Miscellaneous
DOCUMENTS

1.
ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 1 NOVEMBER 1825

"An Interesting Document. Articles of Agreement Between Joe Smith, the Father of Mormonism and Other Persons in 1825," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune,* 23 April 1880, 4.

EDITORIAL NOTE

In October 1825 Josiah Stowell of South Bainbridge, New York, visited the Smith residence in Manchester, New York, and hired Joseph Smith, Jr., according to Lucy Smith, "on account of having heard that he possessed certain means by which he could discern things invisible to the natural eye" (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, 1853:91-92). Stowell immediately took Joseph Smith and his father to Harmony, Pennsylvania, where Stowell and others had spent a great deal of money, time, and energy digging for buried treasure. A company of at least six money diggers boarded with Isaac Hale. In anticipation of their success, the company drew up a contract, or "Articles of Agreement," dated 1 November 1825, which stipulated how the treasure would be divided between the interested parties.

The original agreement is now lost, but it was printed in the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* on 23 April 1880.[1] The *Tribune* reprinted it from the *Susquehanna Journal,* sent to the editors by a "B. Wade," apparently a member of the LDS church living in Yellowstone Valley, Montana.[2] The *Tribune* also published the following letter from Wade:

> YELLOWSTONE VALLEY, Mt.
> April 12, 1880.
>
> EDS. TRIBUNE: Knowing how interested you are in any matter pertaining to the early history of our Church. I enclose a slip cut from the Susquehanna, (Pa.) *Journal* of March 20 [1880], which will throw some light on the subject. The *Journal* is published near the scene of our martyred Prophet's early exploits.
>
> Respectfully Yours,
> B. WADE.

1. See J. P. Walker 1986, 322, 323.

2. Perhaps Bert Wade, age thirty, listed as a New York-born farmer in the 1880 census of Gallatin County, Montana (1880:216).

Concerning the original printing, Larry C. Porter reported that he was unable to locate the *Susquehanna Journal* for 20 March 1880 (Porter 1971, 125, n. 39). Subsequent attempts by other researchers, including this writer, have likewise failed. Attempts to locate the holograph, which the *Journal* said was "in the possession of a citizen of Thompson township [Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania]," have also proved fruitless. Nevertheless, there is presently no reason to doubt the authenticity of the document.[3]

The agreement identifies eleven shareholders in Stowell's company: six "proprietors" and five laborers. Josiah Stowell, his brother Calvin Stowell, and William Hale, a relative of Isaac Hale, were major shareholders entitled to two-thirds of the find. The remaining third was to be divided among Charles Newton, William I. Wiley, and the widow of Oliver Harper who, prior to his murder by Jason Treadwell in May 1824, was a major contributor to the Stowell-Hale company. The agreement further stipulates that "Joseph Smith, Sen. and Joseph Smith Jr. shall be considered as having two shares, two elevenths of all the property that may be obtained, the shares to be taken equally from each third," and that John F. Shephard, Elihu Stowell, and John Grant are considered "equal sharers in the mine ... their shares to be taken out from each share." For the latter three, this could mean either that (a) three shares would be taken equally from the remaining eight shareholders, or (b) as in the case of the Smiths, three shares would be taken from each third of the proprietors. For instance, if the company found $1,000, it would be divided among the parties as follows:

	(a)	(b)
Josiah Stowell	$147.73	$121.22
Calvin Stowell	$147.73	$121.22
William Hale	$147.73	$121.22
Charles Newton	$56.82	$60.61
William I. Wiley	$56.82	$60.61
Widow Harper	$56.82	$60.61
Joseph Smith, Sr.	$56.81	$90.90
Joseph Smith, Jr.	$56.81	$90.90
John F. Shephard	$90.90	$90.90
Elihu Stowell	$90.90	$90.90
John Grant	$90.90	$90.90

3. Two of Arthur B. Deming's affidavits allude to Smith's use of similar agreements. K. E. Bell reported that "Jo sold shares to all who would buy and kept the money" (IV.D.9, K. E. BELL STATEMENT, 1885). W. R. Hine mentioned that those who dug with Smith "would take interests" (IV.D.10,

The group boarding at Isaac Hale's consisted of at least six individuals who signed the agreement: Charles A. Newton, Josiah Stowell, Calvin Stowell, Joseph Smith, Sr., Joseph Smith, Jr., and William I. Wiley. One of the witnesses, P. Newton, who was apparently related to Charles Newton, may have accompanied the group from South Bainbridge although he is not listed in the agreement as a member. Since they did not sign the agreement, it is unclear if laborers John F. Shephard, Elihu Stowell, and John Grant were present in Harmony in November 1825. The wording of the agreement seems to suggest the presence of one or more of the three men: "[W]e further agree to remunerate all the three above named persons in a handsome manner for all their time, expense and labor which they have been *or may be at*" (emphasis added). Isaac Hale, who in 1834 possessed an unpaid, presumably dated, note of one of the company's members, said that Stowell's company boarded at his residence until 17 November (V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834).

The company sought to reopen a mine believed to have been closed and abandoned by the Spanish previous to the arrival of Americans in the late eighteenth century. According to Oliver Cowdery, "in the town of Harmony, Susquehanna county, Pa. is said to be a cave or subterraneous recess, whether entirely formed by art or not I am uninformed ... where a company of Spaniards, a long time since, when the country was uninhabited by white settlers, excavated from the bowels of the earth ore, and coined a large quantity of money; after which they secured the cavity and evacuated, leaving a part still in the cave purposing to return at some distant period. A long time elapsed and this account came from one of the individuals who was first engaged in this mining business. ... Enough however, was credited to the Spaniards' story, to excite the belief of many that there was a fine sum of the precious metal lying coined in this subterraneous vault, among whom was our employer [Josiah Stowell]; and according to our brother [Joseph Smith] was required to spend a few months with some others in excavating the earth, in pursuit of this treasure" (III.G.13, OLIVER COWDERY TO W. W. PHELPS, OCT 1835, 201). The agreement states that the company expected to find "a valuable mine of either Gold or Silver ... coined money and bars or ingots of Gold or Silver."

The mine is said to be located "at a certain place in Pennsylvania near a Wm. Hale's." Since William Hale, a resident of Colesville, New York,[4] does

---

WILLIAM R. HINE STATEMENT, CIRCA MAR 1885). However, the *Journal*'s claim that the original agreement was "written by the old humbug, Joseph Smith, himself" is probably incorrect.

4. William Hale is listed, in his forties, in the 1830 census of Colesville,

not appear in either land records or tax rolls for Harmony, he was evidently renting or boarding in the area of the diggings. The earliest source to locate the exact place of Josiah Stowell's treasure-seeking venture is Emily C. Blackman's 1873 *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania,* which located the digging on property then owned by Jacob I. Skinner. Blackman describes five pits of varying sizes: the largest pit, which included a drainage ditch, was twenty feet deep and one hundred and fifty feet in circumference. To the south were three smaller pits, and another directly east. The number of pits, as Blackman explains, was due to the movement of the enchanted treasure and Smith's discovering its new location through his stone (see V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 581-82).

Skinner's property was situated in the foothills of Oquago Mountain immediately north of Joseph Smith's former residence.[5] According to tax records, Skinner's father, Jacob, and uncle, Abram, purchased the land from Joseph McKune, Jr., in 1830.[6] R. C. Doud of Windsor, New York, asserted that "in 1822 he [Doud] was employed, with thirteen others, by Oliver Harper, to dig for gold ... on Joseph McKune's land" (V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 580). Joseph McKune's wife, Sally (born 1794), reported in 1880 that before her husband purchased Smith's land in 1833 and occupied the house, she "lived upon a farm adjoining Joe Smith's lot and the Isaac Hale farm, and in sight of the place where they dug for a ton of silver, on Jacob I. Skinner's farm" (V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, ME-HETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKINNER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880). This would tend to confirm Blackman's location of Stowell's diggings. Joseph and Hiel Lewis, who grew up on the farm that adjoined Isaac Hale's on the west, did not object to Blackman's placement of the diggings, locating the excavations themselves "in the hill north-east from

---

Broome County, New York (1830:55). On William Hale, see IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880, n. 11.

5. Oquago Mountain occupies the greater area of the Susquehanna's "Great Bend." It is likely the same mountain that Josiah Stowell identified as "Bend Mountain in Pennsylvania" in his statement at the March 1826 court hearing (IV.F.1, BAINBRIDGE [NY] COURT RECORD, 2 MAR 1826).

6. The 1831 assessment for Jacob and Abram Skinner reads in part: "This property was transfered from Joseph McKune Jr since last assessment[.] The above persons came to live here since last assessment" (Harmony Tax Records, 1831, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania).

his, (Isaac Hale's) house" (V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879, under 30 April 1879).[7]

Joseph Smith himself conceals his role as treasure seer in the Stowell venture and is ambiguous about how the project came to a close. After "nearly a month without success in our undertaking," Smith recalled, "Finally I prevailed with the old gentleman to cease digging after it" (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 8). According to Isaac Hale, "Young Smith gave the 'money-diggers' great encouragement, at first, but when they had arrived in digging, to near the place where he had stated an immense treasure would be found—he said the enchantment was so powerful that he could not see. They then became discouraged, and soon after dispersed" (V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834).

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

We, the undersigned, do firmly agree, & by these presents bind ourselves, to fulfill and abide by the hereafter specified articles:

First—That if anything of value should be obtained at a certain place in Pennsylvania near a Wm. Hale's[8] supposed to be a valuable mine of either

---

7. The *Susquehanna Journal,* as quoted in the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune,* acknowledged the "excavations" on the Skinner property but incorrectly located Stowell's digging "on the place now owned by J. M. Tillman, near the McKune farm, then the property of Wm. Hale." However, James M. Tillman was then the owner of Isaac Hale's former residence and, probably confused by the statement in the agreement that the treasure was "near a Wm. Hale's," incorrectly claimed William Hale was the former owner. Tillman does not appear in the deed books for Susquehanna County, but he began paying property tax in Oakland in 1863 (Tax Records, Susquehanna County). Prior to 1863, Tillman was a tavern keeper living at Susquehanna Depot, a small town located a short distance east of Oakland (U.S. Census, Susquehanna Depot, Susquehanna County, 1860:649; Tax Records, Susquehanna Depot, 1861, 1862, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania). Blackman's 1873 history states that Isaac Hale's "place is now occupied by James M. Tillman" (1873, 103). The map of Oakland that appears in Beer's 1872 *Atlas of Susquehanna Co[unty]* locates "J. M. Tillman" on Isaac Hale's former property (p. 17).

8. On William Hale, see IV.D.5, GEORGE COLLINGTON, SMITH BAKER, HARRIET MARSH, AND REBECCA NURSE INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880, n. 11. According to Joseph and Hiel Lewis, William Hale "previous to 1825 ... came to Isaac Hale, and said that he had been informed by a woman named Odle, who claimed to possess the power of seeing under ground, ... that there was great treasures concealed in the hill north-east from his (Isaac Hale's) house. By her directions, Wm. Hale commenced digging ..." (V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENT, 1879).

Gold or Silver and also to contain coined money and bars or ingots of Gold or Silver, and at which several hands have been at work during a considerable part of the past summer, we do agree to have it divided in the following manner, viz.: Josiah Stowell,[9] Calvin Stowell[10] and Wm. Hale to take two-thirds, and Charles Newton,[11] Wm. I. Wiley,[12] and the Widow Harper[13] to take the other third. And we further agree that Joseph Smith, Sen. and Joseph Smith Jr. shall be considered as having two shares, two elevenths of all the property that may be obtained, the shares to be taken equally from each third.

Second—And we further agree, that in consideration of the expense and labor to which the following named persons have been at (John F. Shephard,[14] Elihu Stowell[15] and John Grant[16]) to consider them as equal sharers in the mine after all the coined money and bars or ingots are obtained by the undersigned, their shares to be taken out from each share; and we further agree to remunerate all the three above named persons in a handsome manner for all their time, expense and labor which they have been or may be at, until the mine is opened, if anything should be obtained; otherwise they are to lose their time, expense and labor.

---

9. On Josiah Stowell (1770-184?), see introduction to IV.B.2, MARTHA CAMPBELL TO JOSEPH SMITH, 19 DEC 1843.

10. Calvin Stowell, a brother of Josiah, lived in South Bainbridge, New York. He was a deacon when the South Bainbridge Presbyterian Church was organized on 7 February 1825 (Porter 1971, 125; J. H. Smith 1880, 150).

11. Larry Porter reported that he was unable to identify either Charles or P. Newton in Susquehanna County records (Porter 1971, 125, n. 39). Other members of the company were from New York, and the 1830 census of Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York, lists a Charles Newton, in his twenties, who could very likely be the person in question (1830:7; see also J. P. Walker 1986, 397, n. 2). On P. Newton, see note 19 below.

12. Perhaps "William Wylie" listed in the 1820 census of Bainbridge, New York (J. P. Walker 1986, 397, n. 2), or William Wiley from the 1830 census of Lancaster, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (1830:49).

13. She was probably still a resident of Windsor, New York, at this time. On Oliver Harper (ca. 1784-1824), see V.A.6, JOSEPH AND HIEL LEWIS STATEMENTS, 1879, n. 7.

14. Dale Morgan suggested that John F. Shephard "may have been a son of John Shepherd who was, according to [J. B.] Wilkinson's *Annals of Binghamton* [1840] (p. 115), one of those who settled at Tioga Point in 1780" (J. P. Walker 1986, 397, n. 2). But this seems remote.

15. Probably Elihu Cooper Stowell, son of Abishai Stowell, who was a half-brother to Josiah Stowell (Porter 1971, 125-26).

16. A John Grant is listed, in his twenties, in the 1830 census of Colesville, New York (1830:52).

Third—And we further agree that all the expense which has or may accrue until the mine is opened, shall be equally borne by the proprietors or each third and that after the mine is opened the expense shall be equally borne by each of the sharers.

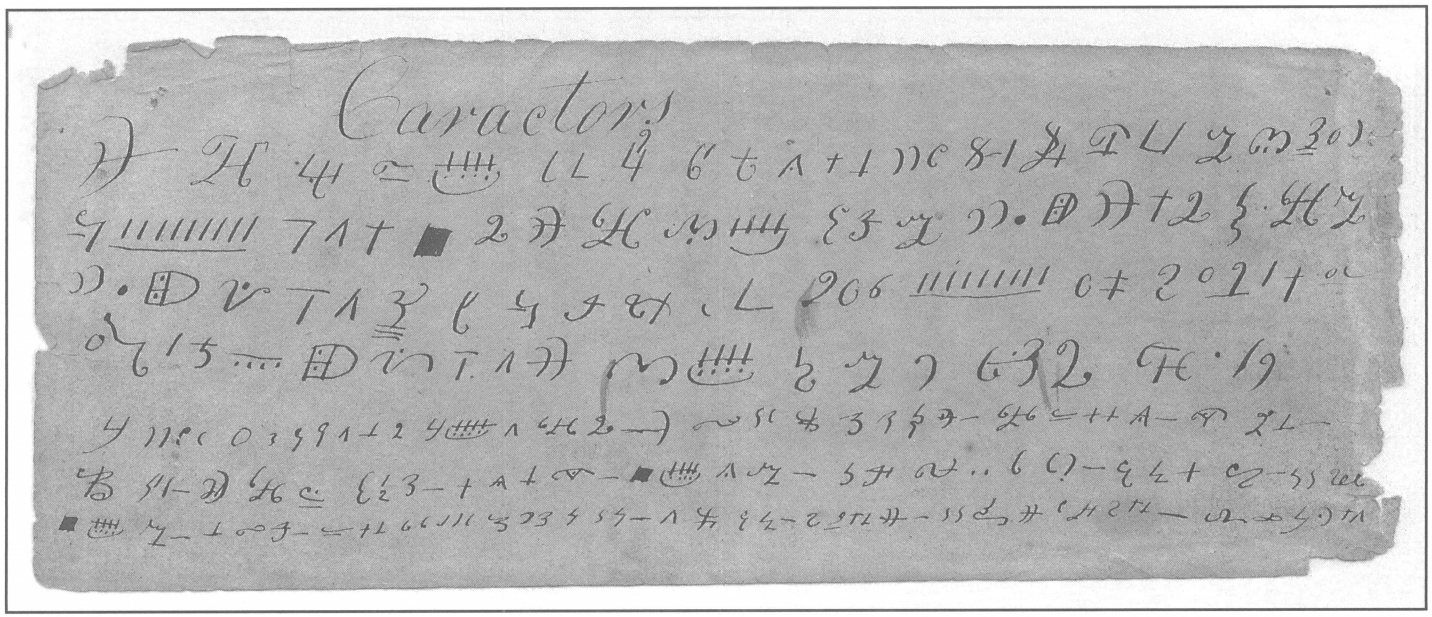
Township of Harmony, Pa., Nov. 1, 1825. In presence of

	CHAS. A. NEWTON,
	JOS. SMITH, SEN.,
ISAAC HALE,[17]	ISAIAH [JOSIAH] STOWELL,
DAVID HALE,[18]	
P. NEWTON.[19]	CALVIN STOWELL,
	JOS. SMITH, JR.,
	WM. I. WILEY.

17. According to early historian Emily Blackman, Isaac Hale "was at first a little deluded about the digging, while he boarded the party" (V.D.5, EMILY BLACKMAN ACCOUNT, 1873, 581).

18. On David Hale (1794-1878), son of Isaac Hale, see I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, n. 186.

19. A Peter Newton is listed in the 1830 census of Conklin, Broome County, New York (1830:67), and a Phineas Newton appears in the Plymouth, Chenango County, New York, census for the same year; both men are in their forties (1830:151).



Book of Mormon characters, ca. Dec. 1827-Feb. 1828. Courtesy Community of Christ Office of Graphic Arts.

2.
BOOK OF MORMON CHARACTERS, DECEMBER 1827-FEBRUARY 1828

Book of Mormon "Caractors," Restoration Scriptures, RLDS Church Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Joseph Smith said that "immediately" after arriving in Harmony, Pennsylvania, "I commenced copying the characters of[f] ~~all~~ the plates. I copyed a considerable number of them and by means of the Urim and Thummim I translated some of them which I did between the time I arrived at the house of my wife's father in the month of December, and the February following" (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 9). One source claims Emma Smith's brother Reuben Hale "assisted Joe Smith to fix up some characters such as Smith pretended were engraven on his book of plates" (Blackman 1873, 104), whereas Joseph Knight said Emma helped Joseph (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 3). According to David Whitmer, it took Smith "a whole week to copy" the characters (VI.A.29, DAVID WHITMER INTERVIEW WITH *OMAHA* [NE] *HERALD,* 10 OCT 1886).

In February 1828 Martin Harris came to Harmony, picked up the transcribed characters, and took them east seeking learned opinion regarding their genuineness. He went as far as New York City where he visited noted linguist Charles Anthon at Columbia College. Upon his return to Palmyra, he showed them to the Reverend John A. Clark, who said Harris pulled from his pocket a folded slip of paper that contained "three or four lines of characters" (III.F.1, MARTIN HARRIS INTERVIEWS WITH JOHN A. CLARK, 1827 & 1828). Soon after, according to Lucy Smith, Harris's wife secretly made a copy of the characters in her husband's possession (I.B.5, LUCY SMITH HISTORY, 1845, MS:74). Thereafter the pedigree of the characters is uncertain, but presumably the sheet was returned to Joseph Smith and kept with the Book of Mormon manuscripts.

Smith apparently had the transcript in his possession at the time he purchased the Egyptian papyri and mummies in 1835. According to Oliver Cowdery, Smith showed the proprietor of the artifacts, Michael H. Chandler, "a number of characters ... which were previously copied from the plates, containing the history of the Nephites, or book of Mormon" (*Messen-*

ger and Advocate 2 [December 1835]: 235; cf. J. Smith 1948, 2:235). At the time of his excommunication in 1838, Cowdery evidently had the transcribed characters in his possession, along with the printer's manuscript of the Book of Mormon. Before his death in 1850, Cowdery turned these documents over to David Whitmer (see VI.A.18, DAVID WHITMER INTERVIEW WITH GEORGE Q. CANNON, 27 FEB 1884; VI.A.22, DAVID WHITMER INTERVIEW WITH *ST. LOUIS REPUBLICAN,* JUL 1884). When Whitmer died in 1888, his papers went to his son David J. Whitmer, then to grandson George W. Schweich (1853-1926).[1] On 18 April 1903 Schweich sold the family papers to the RLDS church for $2,450 (McKiernan and Launius 1980, 23).

The Whitmer copy, commonly referred to as the "Anthon Transcript," is presently in the RLDS Church Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri. The seven lines of about two hundred and twenty-five characters are written on an approximately 8 x 3¼ inch sheet of similar quality as the original Book of Mormon manuscript. At the top of the document is written "Caractors," apparently in Joseph Smith's handwriting. A careful examination reveals patterns and couplings indicating that the transcription is anything but a haphazard or promiscuous execution.

Some discussion has centered on the disparity between Whitmer's transcript and Anthon's 1834 and 1841 statements that the document he saw was arranged in columns and ended with a circle filled with other characters (V.D.2, CHARLES ANTHON TO E. D. HOWE, 17 FEB 1834; V.D.3, CHARLES ANTHON TO THOMAS WINTHROP COIT, 3 APR 1841). Whitmer repeatedly represented what he had as "the identical specimen which was sent to Prof. [Charles] Anthon ... by Martin Harris and returned to him" (VI..22, DAVID WHITMER INTERVIEW WITH *ST. LOUIS REPUBLICAN,* JUL 1884; see also VI.A.18, DAVID WHITMER INTERVIEW WITH GEORGE Q. CANNON, 27 FEB 1884). But Whitmer also believed he possessed the original Book of Mormon manuscript when in fact it was the printer's copy. Despite the possibility that the Whitmer transcript may not be original, Daniel W. Bachman observes that "it almost certainly represents characters either copied from the plates in Joseph Smith's possession or copied from the document carried by Harris. Twice in late 1844, after the Prophet's martyrdom, portions of these symbols were published as characters that Joseph Smith had copied from the gold

1. William Evarts Benjamin, a New York City book dealer, may have had temporary possession of some of Schweich's documents in 1903, including the Whitmer transcription (Riley 1903, 80, 81, 97, 100). Perhaps Benjamin was considering purchasing them or was helping Schweich find a buyer.

plates—once as a broadside and once in the December 21 issue of the Mormon newspaper *The Prophet*" (Ludlow et al. 1992, 1:44).

To resolve the discrepancy, it has been suggested that (1) Anthon's description is incorrect; (2) Whitmer's transcription is not the original taken to Anthon but a subsequent copy; and (3) the Whitmer transcription is only part of what Harris took to Anthon.

It does not seem likely that Anthon would misrepresent what he saw, even if he could not remember exactly what had been placed before him six years previously. His description of "a circle divided into various compartments, decked with various strange marks" seems supported by an unidentified "informant" who told Orsamus Turner that Martin Harris had exhibited "the manuscript title page" of the Book of Mormon and remembered that it contained "concentric circles, between above and below which were characters" (III.J.2, ORSAMUS TURNER ACCOUNT, 1851, 215). It is, of course, possible that Turner's informant could have been influenced by Anthon's published statements. But John A. Clark, who was shown a facsimile of characters by Harris in 1828 and said they consisted of "three or four lines of characters," made no objection to Anthon's description when Clark published his letter to Thomas Winthrop Coit in 1842 (see V.D.3, CHARLES ANTHON TO THOMAS WINTHROP COIT, 3 APR 1841).

The possibility that Smith made more than one transcription is suggested by an undated page in Oliver Cowdery's hand, identified as "Characters on the book of Mormon," bearing four characters not represented in the RLDS transcript (original in LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah).[2]

Various attempts have been made to identify the Whitmer transcript with demonic and hieratic Egyptian (Crowley 1942), "deformed English" (Shook 1910, 538), Mesoamerican cylinder seals (Jones 1970), and Masonic and magic scripts (Buerger 1978). Although claimed to have been written in "reformed Egyptian," Egyptologists have been unable to identify affinities with any ancient scripts (Hanson 1956; see also Ashment 1993). The Book of Mormon itself warns against such activity. As Moroni declares, "We have written this record according to our knowledge, in the characters which are called among us the reformed Egyptian, being handed down and altered by us ... and also none other people knoweth our language; therefore he [the Lord] hath prepared means for the interpretation thereof" (Mormon 8:32, 34).

[see accompanying photograph]

---

2. Frederick G. Williams made his own copy of the characters, probably from Cowdery's copy (N. Williams 1951, see photograph facing page 102; see also *BYU Studies* 12 [Spring 1972]: 312).

3.
INFANT'S GRAVESTONE, 15 JUNE 1828

Alvin Smith Gravestone, 15 June 1828, McKune Cemetery, Oakland, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.[1]

EDITORIAL NOTE

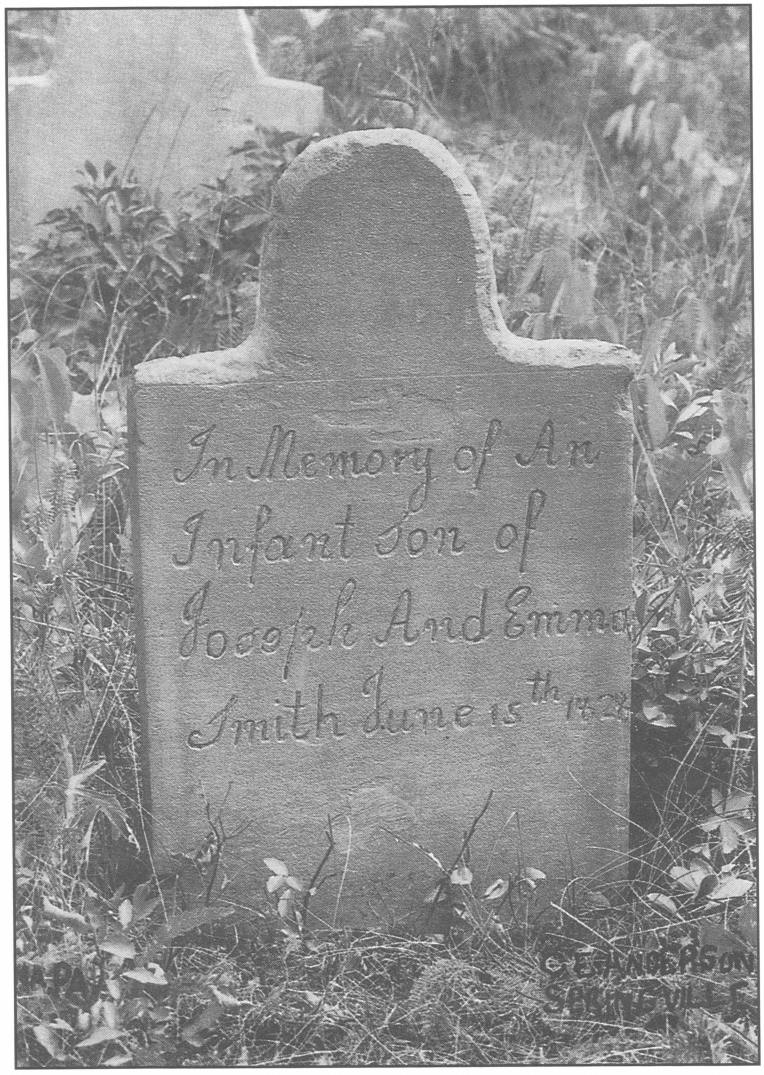
Between 12 April and 14 June 1828, Joseph Smith and Martin Harris worked on the Book of Mormon translation but decided to take a break as Emma was nearing childbirth. After some hesitation on Smith's part, Harris left Harmony for his home in Palmyra with the unfinished manuscript. On 15 June 1828 Emma gave birth to a son who died the same day. According to family records, the infant's name was Alvin (I.H.3, SMITH FAMILY BIBLE RECORDS, NO DATES). Sophia Lewis was present at the birth and said that the infant was "still-born and very much deformed" (V.A.5, SOPHIA LEWIS STATEMENT, 1834; see also V.A.8, HIEL LEWIS TO [JAMES T. COBB?], 29 SEP 1879). According to Skinner family tradition, Rhoda Skinner, the wife of neighbor Jacob Skinner, acted as midwife for Emma (Grant 1963, 172, 192).

The Smiths buried their son in the McKune cemetery, located a short distance east of their home, and on the grave they placed a simple unadorned headstone. The inscription, not well executed, reads:

In Memory of An
Infant Son of
Joseph And Emma
Smith June 15th 1828

In 1880 Frederick G. Mather described the marker as a "little rude headstone of black sand-stone. ... The lettering is rude, in the style of the manuscripts of those days, and the figures' 8's look like a cross between a $ character and the letter S bent the wrong way" (V.C.5, SALLY MCKUNE, MEHETABLE DOOLITTLE, ELIZABETH SQUIRES, JACOB I. SKIN-

1. Photographs of the headstone have been published in the *Improvement Era,* March 1963, 170; *Ensign,* September 1978, 47; Holzapfel and Cottle 1991, 162.



Alvin Smith gravestone, McKune Cemetery, Oakland, Pennsylvania. Alvin was the first child of Joseph and Emma Smith. George E. Anderson, 1907. Original in LDS Church Archives.

NER, AND SAMUEL BRUSH INTERVIEWS WITH FREDERICK G. MATHER, JUL 1880).

When photographed by George E. Anderson in 1907, the infant's gravestone was apparently standing in the McKune Cemetery (Holzapfel and Cottle 1991, 162). But for some time, the marker had been missing. On 2 October 1883 the *Cincinnati Enquirer,* when describing Smith's former home in Harmony, stated, "not many rods from the house is a country graveyard, in which are interred the remains of one of Joe Smith's children. No slab or headstone marks it, and its precise location is known to only a few of the older people" (quoted in Kennedy 1888, 44). Today the infant's gravestone, preserved in a granite casing, is situated in the northeast portion of the McKune Cemetery in Oakland (formerly Harmony) in close proximity to Isaac and Elizabeth Hale's headstone.

[see accompanying photograph]

4.
HARMONY (PA) ASSESSMENT RECORDS, 1828-1831

Harmony Assessment Records, 1828-1831, 1828:[11], 1829:[14], 1830:[10], 1831:[13], Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Joseph Smith lived in Harmony from about December 1827 to early or mid-September 1830, and therefore appears in four assessment records: 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1831. The assessments are arranged in eleven columns: Inhabitants' Names, Improved Land (1st, 2nd, 3rd rate), Unimproved Land, Houses, Horses, Oxen, Cows, Valuation, and Total. Information gleaned from the four assessments of Joseph Smith, Jr.'s, property is as follows:

1. *1828 Assessment*: The assessor for 1828 was Jesse Hale, who began the assessment on 3 December 1827 and finished by 2 January 1828. Since Smith had not yet contracted for his property, he was not assessed for either improved or unimproved land. But his home was assessed at $10 and his cow was valued at $10.[1] The total value of Smith's taxable property as of December 1827 was therefore $20. The following notation accompanies the assessment: "Joseph Smith Jr / Came to inhabit in this township since / the last assessment."

2. *1829 Assessment*: The certification for this assessment, which would have contained the assessor's name and date, is missing. By law, the assessment was to have been taken in December 1828. The handwriting does not match that of either Jesse Hale, the assessor for 1828, or Jesse Lane, the assessor for 1830 and 1831. For the first time, Smith is assessed $14 for one acre of first-rate, $48 for six acres of second-rate, and $24 for six acres of third-rate improved land. Although the entire thirteen-acre farm was considered improved, Smith evidently had only one acre under cultivation. His house was assessed at $10, his cow at $9. The initial appraisal totaled $105, but someone evidently protested. A notation reads: "[A]dded at the Appeal / one [additional] Cow $8, and $150 for Lands." The total value of taxable property was then raised to $263.

The increase in Smith's land value is tied to Isaac Hale's assessment, which includes the following notation: "Abated at the Appeal / for $150

1. The cow was possibly brought to the marriage by Emma, whose father mentions that "cows" were among the property she had left behind in Harmony (V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834).

Lands." Hale was originally assessed $218 for improved land (two acres, first-rate [$28]; sixteen acres, second-rate [$128]; sixteen acres, third-rate [$62]) and $194 for unimproved land. This was adjusted to ten acres (six acres less) of third-rate improved and sixty-three acres of unimproved land. This action transferred the six acres of third-rate improved and thirty-four acres of unimproved land, assessed at $150, to Smith.

3. *1830 Assessment*: The certification at the front of the assessment record indicates that it was taken by Jesse Lane, who delayed its commencement thirty days until 1 January 1830. Smith was assessed $14 for one acre of first-rate, $48 for six acres of second-rate, and $24 for six acres of third-rate improved land. He was assessed $10 for his house and $17 for two cows (the second cow is evidently the one added to the 1829 assessment). His total assessment was $113. The $150 that was added in 1829 was transferred back to Isaac Hale, whose assessment includes the following notation: "$150 worth of Land [was] transfer[e]d / from J[oseph] Smith."

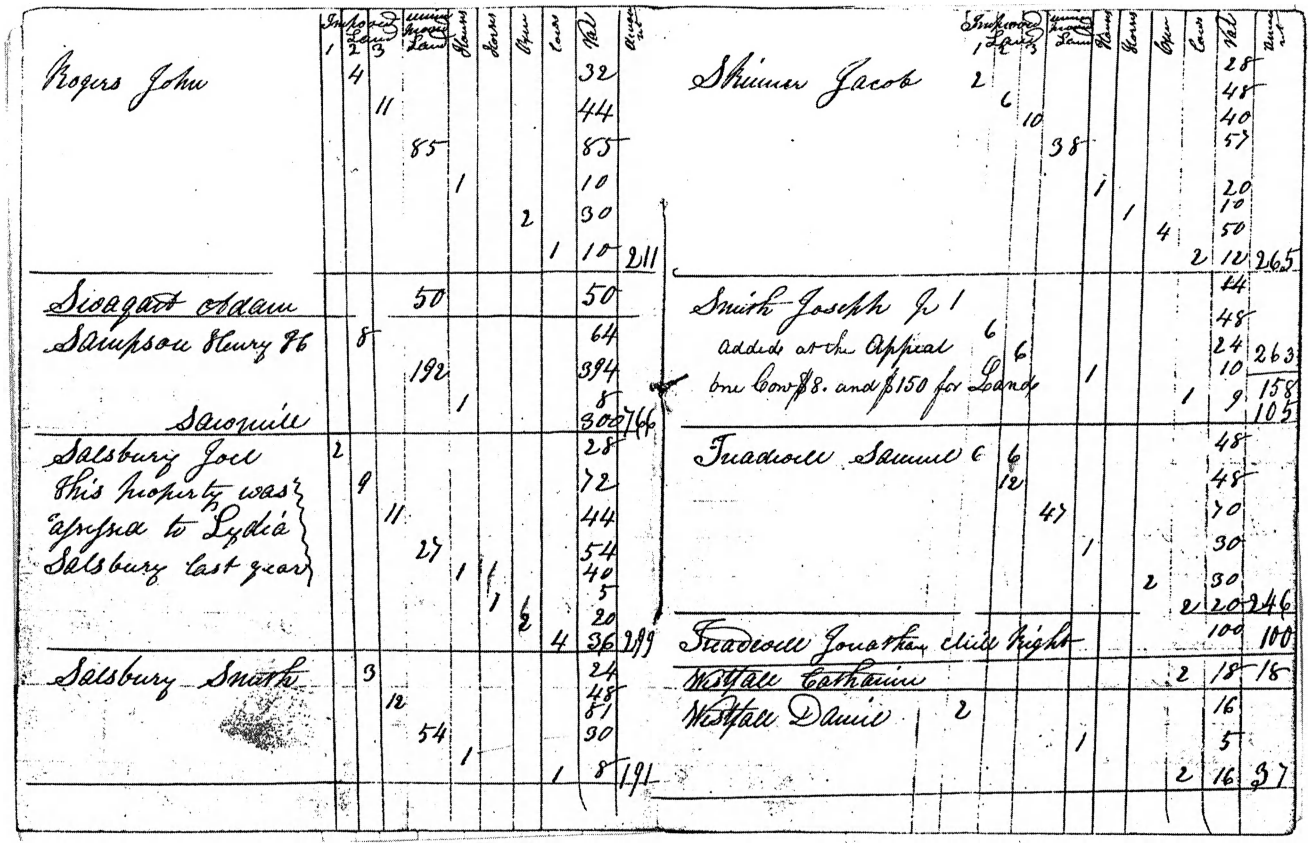
4. *1831 Assessment*: The certification indicates that the assessment was completed by Jesse Lane between 1-20 December 1830. Smith was assessed $14 for one acre of first-rate, $48 for six acres of second-rate, and $24 for six acres of third-rate improved land and $25 for his house.[2] The total value of taxable property was $111. An additional notation reads: "removed from here Since last assessment."

Below is the information taken from the Harmony assessment records for Joseph Smith:

ITEMS TAXED	*1828*	*1829*	*1830*	*1831*
Improved Land:				
1st rate	——	1/$14*	1/$14	1/$14
2nd rate	——	6/$48	6/$48	6/$48
3rd rate	——	6/$24	6/$24	6/$24
Unimproved Land	——	——	——	——
Houses	1/$10	1/$10	1/$10	1/$25
Horses	——	——	——	——
Oxen	——	——	——	——
Cows	1/$10	1/$9	2/$17	——
Total	$20	$263†	$113	$111

*Acres/value.
†Represents the addition of $158 to the initial appraisal of $105, reversed the next year.

2. Smith may have sold his two cows to his brother-in-law Jesse Hale, whose 1831 assessment indicates an increase of two cows since the previous assessment.



Harmony Assessment Record, 1829, showing the original assessment of Joseph Smith's house and cow at $150, subsequently amended on appeal to include land valued at $150 to bring the total taxable property to $263. Courtesy Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania.

5.
JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY (PA) LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833

1. Isaac Hale, Land Agreement with Joseph Smith, 6 April 1829, Joseph Smith Collection, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.[1]
2. Isaac Hale, Land Deed to Joseph Smith, 25 August 1830, Joseph Smith Collection, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.[2]

EDITORIAL NOTE

In August 1827, about seven months following their elopement, Joseph and Emma Smith returned to Harmony, Pennsylvania, in order to retrieve Emma's personal property. During an emotional confrontation, Isaac Hale expressed his disapproval of his daughter's marriage to a money digger. When Joseph promised to give up the treasure-seeking business, Isaac offered to help the couple get established in Harmony (V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834; see also III.A.9, PETER INGERSOLL STATEMENT, 2 DEC 1833).

About December 1827, Alva Hale went to Manchester, New York, to help move Joseph and Emma to Harmony (I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 5). The couple evidently stayed with Isaac Hale a short time before moving into a small home formerly occupied by Emma's oldest brother Jesse (V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834; I.F.3, EMMA SMITH BIDAMON INTERVIEW WITH JOSEPH SMITH, III, FEB 1879).[3] The house was situated about five to six hundred feet northeast of the Susquehanna River and about 450 feet east of Isaac Hale's residence. The original house was destroyed by fire in 1919, but photographs exist (e.g., *Improvement Era,* March 1963, 168, 171; *Ensign,* December 1983, 33; Holzapfel

---

1. This document was originally part of the Wilford C. Wood Collection in Woods Cross, Utah.

2. Ibid.

3. About the time of Smith's arrival in Harmony, Jesse Hale acquired new land. Hale's 1828 tax assessment notes the following: "Travis[,] John Sold all of his property to Jesse Hale & Isaac W Hale and the same is assessed to them this year" (Harmony Assessment Records, 1828, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania).

and Cottle 1991, 158, 159) as well as descriptions of the interior. Frederick G. Mather described it in August 1880 as "a partly-finished house, twenty-six feet broad, eighteen feet deep and fourteen feet in the posts" (V.C.6, FREDERICK G. MATHER INTERVIEWS WITH SUSQUEHANNA COUNTY [PA] RESIDENTS, JUL 1880). Rex B. Hawes, who lived in the house from 1896 to 1909, gave the following description:

> The Joseph Smith house was built of lumber, having two rooms downstairs. The floor downstairs was of beautiful hardwood maple. When entering the house, one came into a hallway, and there a stairway led up to an attic or loft; the east end of this loft was boarded off into a room with a window looking toward the east. I was told that Joseph Smith did a lot of writing in this room. Another stairway, underneath the attic stairway, led down to the cellar underneath the house. There was a nice fireplace at the west end of the house, but this fireplace was moved when [Benjamin] McKune moved another house there and joined it to the Joseph Smith home. ... (as quoted in Grant 1960, 340-41; see also Porter 1971, 135).

The house sat at the south end of a thirteen-and-a-half-acre strip of land which ran north of the house and south to the river. According to Joseph Knight, Sr., Smith's land included a barn (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 3). W. C. Cruser, former editor of the *Montrose Democrat,* wrote in 1929 that the "house burned a few years ago, but the foundation is there, and the barn on the opposite side of the road" (*Montrose Independent,* 17 January 1929; cf. "Journal History," 17 January 1929).[4]

While Smith lived in the house and paid taxes on the property, he did not secure an agreement for the land from Isaac Hale until 6 April 1829, the day after Oliver Cowdery and Samuel Smith arrived, possibly with financial aid to help Smith pay the $64 down payment. According to the agreement, Smith was to pay Hale $200: $114 by 1 May 1829 and a final payment of $86 on 1 May 1830. The agreement included a $400 penalty clause for the party breaking the contract. The witnesses were Oliver Cowdery and Samuel Smith.

A notation on the reverse of the agreement indicates that Isaac Hale received a down payment of $64 on 6 April and another $50 on 27 April, fulfilling Smith's responsibility to pay $114 by 1 May 1829. On 21 June 1830, more than a month past the due date for the last payment, Hale received "interest on the within in full up to this date." Unable to make the final payment

---

4. For further information on Smith's property, see Grant 1960; Grant 1963.

of $86, Smith began paying interest until a final notation, dated 26 August 1830, indicates that Hale received the full balance due.

A recently discovered document helps explain how Smith avoided defaulting on the house and land. On 25 August 1830, he gave a promissory note for $190.95 to George H. Noble & Co. The following day George H. Noble & Co. entered an "Amicable" action against Smith for the amount of the note, whereby apparently a lien was placed against Smith's newly acquired property (see V.E.6, GEORGE H. NOBLE AND COMPANY VS. JOSEPH SMITH, JR., 26 AUG 1830). That the deed was signed by Hale the same day but not notarized until the next day suggests that it was used by Smith to get the loan from Noble & Co., who used a portion of the money to pay Hale. On 26 August Hale appeared before Justice Jesse Lane, notarized the deed, and acknowledged on the reverse of the agreement that he had received full payment for the property.

Below is a summary of important events related to Joseph Smith's Harmony land:

1. *December 1827*: Joseph and Emma Smith arrive in Harmony.

2. *12 April-14 June 1828*: Smith and Harris work on translation.

3. *15 June 1828*: Emma gives birth to a still-born son.

4. *5 April 1829*: Oliver Cowdery and Samuel Smith arrive in Harmony.

5. *6 April 1829*: Isaac Hale and Joseph Smith sign the Harmony land agreement, with Oliver Cowdery and Samuel Smith acting as witnesses. Joseph Smith agrees to pay Hale a total of $200 for the property, $114 by 1 May 1829 and $86 on 1 May 1830, and makes a down payment of $64.

6. *27 April 1829*: Smith pays Hale $50, fulfilling the requirement to pay $114 by May.

7. *1 May 1830*: Smith fails to make the final payment of $86.

8. *21 June 1830*: Smith pays Hale interest on the outstanding balance.

9. *25 August 1830*: Hale signs over the Harmony property to Smith. John Whitmer and Jesse Lane sign as witnesses. Smith gives a promissory note to George H. Noble & Co. for $190.95.

10. *26 August 1830*: Smith pays Hale in full for the property, leaving him with a remainder of $104.95. George H. Noble & Co. enter an "Amicable" action against Smith for $190.95 and a lien against Smith's property.

11. *5-25 September 1830*: Persecution in Harmony prompts Smith to relocate to Fayette, New York. Newel Knight helps him move (I.A.15, JOSEPH

SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 52-53; IV.A.3, NEWEL KNIGHT AUTOBIOGRAPHY, CIRCA 1846, 64).

12. *January 1831*: Smith and Sidney Rigdon visit Harmony "to settle some Business" (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 8). Knowing that he was soon to move to Ohio, Smith presumably rents his home to Joseph McKune, Jr., who had recently sold his land to the Skinners. Smith also may have arranged for payment to Noble & Co. at this time (see #13 below).

13. *Before 3 June 1831*: Smith's note to Noble & Co. for $190.95 is satisfied. It is unknown where Smith obtained the money to pay this loan.

14. *28 June 1833*: Smith sells Harmony land to McKune for $300. According to Frederick G. Mather, Martin Harris came to Harmony to settle the sale with McKune (V.C.6, FREDERICK G. MATHER INTERVIEWS WITH SUSQUEHANNA COUNTY [PA] RESIDENTS, JUL 1880), but the accuracy of this statement is uncertain.[5]

Reproduced below are the two documents dealing with Smith's land purchase in Harmony: the agreement dated 6 April 1829 and the deed dated 25 August 1830.

[*1. Land Agreement, 6 April 1829*]

This Agreement made and concluded this 6th day of April Ano Dommini one thousand eight hundred and twenty nine Between Isaac Hale of the Township of Harmony in the County of Susquehanna and State of Pennsylvania the one part and Joseph Smith Jun of the Township County and State aforesaid of the other part[.] Witnesseth that the said Isaac Hale hereby Covenants and agrees to sell and convey to the said Joseph Smith Jun his Heirs Executors administrators assigns [—] good and Sufficient Deed Containing a General Warranty all that certain piece & parcel of land with its appurtenances situate lying, and being in the Township of Harmony in the

---

5. Regarding the sale to Joseph McKune, Jr., signed by both Joseph and Emma Smith, Larry C. Porter reports: "Arthur N. Thompson, a great grandson of Joseph McKune, Jun., showed the writer a photograph of the deed from Joseph Smith to McKune. Mr. Thompson said that his sister has the original indenture in a safety deposit box" (Porter 1971, 134, n. 68). The LDS church subsequently procured the deed from Eleanor LeCouver, and it is now in the LDS archives in Salt Lake City. The document was copied into the Susquehanna County deed books, Liber 9, 290, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania.

County of Susquehanna and <State of> Pennsylvania and butted bounded and described as fallen Viz. Begining at a Post on the ~~North side~~ bank of the Susquehanna River thence North half a degree West one hundred & eleven perches [linear rods] to a post[,] thence North eighty nine and a half degrees East twenty perches to a post[,] thence South half a degree East one hund=red and nineteen perches to a Sugar [Maple] tree on the Bank of said River thence down the River Bank to the place of Begining[.] Containing in the whole thirteen acres and eighty Rods be the same more or less. In Consideration and for the ~~Some~~ <Sum> of two hundred Dollars to be paid in the following Parshal [partial] paymen=ts Viz. one Hundred & fo<u>rteen Dollars to be paid by the first of May 1829, and the remainder the first of May 1830—For the due performance of the covenants and agreements afore said the said parties hereby bind themselves their Heirs executors administrators and assigns each to the other respectfully in the fixed sum of four hundred Dollars to be paid by the party delinquent to the par[ty] complaining In Witness w<h>ereof they have herein to set their hands and seals the day and year first above written[.]

Signed Sealed and Delivered in presen<ce> of		
[s] Oliver H P Cowdery	[s] Joseph Smith Jr.	Signed
[s] Samuel H Smith	[s] Isaac Hale	Sealed

[*Reverse side of Agreement*]

Received on the within sixty four Dollars April 6th 1829

[s] Isaac Hale

Received on the within fifty <Dollars> April 27th 1829

[s] Isaac Hale

Received the interest on the within in full up to this date June the 21[st] 1830

[s] Isaac Hale

Rec[eive]d on the within in full Harmony August 26th 1830.

[*2. Land Deed, 25 August 1830*][6]

THIS INDENTURE, MADE THE twenty fifth **DAY OF** August **in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and** thirty **be-**

6. The original deed is a printed form with blank spaces filled out in hand, perhaps by a clerk. The bold portions of the present transcription correspond to

tween Isaac Hale <& Elizabeth his wife> of the township of Harmony & County Susquehanna & State of Pennsylvania of the one Part and Joseph Smith Jr of the other Part of the place aforesaid.

WITNESSETH, that the said Partys of the first part **for and in consideration of the sum of** two Hundred Dollars **to** them **in hand paid by the said** Party of the second part **at and before the ensealing and delivery hereof, the receipt and payment whereof** is **hereby acknowledged,** have **granted bargained, sold, aliened, enfeoffed, released, conveyed and confirmed, and by these presents,** doth **grant bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff, release, convey and confirm unto the said** Party of the second part **and to** his **heirs and assigns** all that certain Piece or parcel of Land situated and lying in the Township of Harmony and County of Susquehanna and State aforesaid, and being a part of a lot of Land in the warrantee name of George Ruper, once a part of the farm on which the said Isaac Hale now lives on, Butted & bounded as follows, Beginning at Post on the <North> bank of the Susquehanna River. Thence North half a degree East one hundred and Eleven Perches to a Post[,] Thence North eighty nine and [a] half degrees East twenty perches to a Post[,] Thence South half a Degree East one hundred and nineteen Perches to a Sugar Maple tree on the bank of Said River, Thence down the Said River as it winds & turns to the Place of Beginning. Containing in the whole thirteen acres & Eighty Perches be the same more or less—Bounded on the East by Lands owned by Joseph McKune & on the North & West by Lands of Isaac Hale **TOGETHER, with all and singular the houses, outhouses, confines and buildings thereon erected and being—and all ways, water-courses, woods, fences, gardens, minerals, rights, liberties, privileges, advantages, hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging, or any wise appertaining—and the reversions and remainders, rents, issues and profits thereof—and also all the estate, right, title, interest, use, trust, property, possession, claim and demand whatsoever of** him **the said** Party of the first part whether **in law or equity, or otherwise howsoever, of, in, to, or out of the same—TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said** Piece or parcel of Land with the **hereditaments and premises, hereby granted and released, or mentioned or intended so to be, with the appurtenances, unto the said** Parties of the second part his **heirs and as-**

---

the printed portions of the form. The deed was copied into the Susquehanna County deed books, Liber 8, 59-60, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania.

signs, to the only proper use, benefit and behoof, of the said Party his **heirs and assigns forever**

And the said party of the first **for** himself his **heirs, executors, and administrators,** do **covenant, promise, grant and agree to, and with said** party of the second part his **heirs and assigns by these presents that** he **the said** party of the second part **and** his **heirs, the said** hereby granted premises or tracts of Land with the **hereditaments and premises hereby granted and released, or mentioned, or intended so to be, with the appurtenances unto the said** Joseph Smith-Jr. their **heirs and assigns, against** them **the said** Party of the first **and** his **heirs and against all and every other persons whomsoever lawfully claiming or to claim** of in or out of the said Premises **shall and will warrant and forever defend, by these presents—IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said** Partys **to these presents** has **hereunto set** his **Hand and Seals—Dated the day and year first above written.**

SEALED AND DELIVERED	[s] Isaac Hale	L.S.[7]
IN THE PRESENCE OF	[s] Elizabeth Hale	L.S.

The words "& Elizabeth his wife" inserted & the word North inserted

[s] John Whitmer
[s] Jesse Lane[8]

[*Reverse side of Deed*]

Susquehanna County SS

Before me the subscriber one of the Justices of the Peace in & for said County of Susquehanna Came Isaac Hale & Elizabeth his wife and acknowledged the with=in indenture as instrument of wrighting to be their act & deed for the purpose therein mentioned & she being of proper age & being examined Apart from her said husband & the contents explained to her by me Said She Signed it of her own free will & not from any fear or Coersion on the part of Her said Husband[.] Dated at Harmony this 26th day of August in the Year of our Lord 1830

Jesse Lane

Susquehanna County

Recorded in the Office for Recording of Deeds [-] in

7. L.S. stands for *locus sigilli*, the placement of a legal seal.

8. Jesse Lane was appointed Justice of the Peace for Harmony, Pennsylvania, about 1825 (Blackman 1873, 96).

deeds for said County in Deeds Book No 8 page 59.
the thirty first day of August AD eighteen hundred &
thirty.

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand
and Seals of Office at Montrose the day & year above
written[.]

Wm Jessup Recorder[9]
Rec. N P [Ross?]

Fee $1.15
Tax 50[.]00 paid by Esq [Jesse] Lane
August 31st, 1830

9. William Jessup (1797-1868) was admitted to the bar of Susquehanna County in 1820; held the office of register and recorder, 1824-33; and received a judgeship, 1833-51 (Blackman 1873, 335).

6.
GEORGE H. NOBLE AND COMPANY VS. JOSEPH SMITH, JR., 26 AUGUST 1830

1. Common Pleas Docket, No. 6, 455, November 1830 Term, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania.

2. Transcript, George H. Noble & Co. vs. Joseph Smith, Jr., 26 August 1830, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania.

EDITORIAL NOTE

I discovered the present documents on 12 July 1991 with assistance from Debra Adleman, then a researcher at the Susquehanna County Historical Society, and Betty Smith, the society's curator. These two items shed light on Joseph Smith's financial situation in the weeks prior to his removal from Harmony in September 1830.

The documents reveal that on 25 August 1830, Smith became indebted to "George H. Noble & Co." for $190.95. Assessment records indicate that Noble was a "Merchant" who moved to Harmony and opened a "store" in 1828 (Harmony Assessment Records, 1829, 1830, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania). Two years later he moved to nearby Lanesboro to open a store with Nathan S. Williams (Stocker 1887, 579).[1] Smith gave Noble & Co. a note for $190.95 on 25 August. On the following day, Noble & Co. entered an "Amicable" action before Justice Jesse Lane against Smith for that amount. A lien was placed against Smith's newly acquired property.

Interrelated with this transaction are Smith's dealings with his father-in-law regarding the property. On 25 August, the same day Smith became indebted to Noble and Co., Isaac Hale signed over the deed to Smith. However, it was not until the following day, 26 August, that Hale acknowledged receipt of the final payment and had the deed notarized (see V.E.5, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY [PA] LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833).

---

1. The timing of the move is suggested by Noble's absence from the 1831 Harmony assessment.

This suggests that Smith used the deed to procure the loan from Noble & Co., and that he used a portion of the loan to pay his father-in-law.

On 31 August, Justice Lane's judgement in the case of George H. Noble & Co. vs. Joseph Smith, Jr., was filed at the Susquehanna County courthouse in Montrose. It was the first case reviewed by the County Court of Common Pleas on 29 November. On 3 June 1831, the court was notified that Smith's note for $190.95 had been satisfied. On the following day it was entered into the docket book. If Smith did not settle the debt during his December 1830 visit with Sidney Rigdon, mentioned by Joseph Knight (IV.A.1, JOSEPH KNIGHT, SR., REMINISCENCE, CIRCA 1835-1847, 8), it may have been satisfied by one or more of the Colesville Saints before they departed that spring for Ohio.

The first document presented below is an entry in the docket for the November 1830 term which briefly states the facts. The second document, containing more information and specifics of the case, is a transcript filed at the Susquehanna County Clerk's Office. Also folded with the transcript is a power of attorney giving Levi Westfall authority to notify the county clerk that Smith had paid his debt to George H. Noble & Co.

[*1. Docket Book*]

Susquehanna County Pa. November Term 1830.

Pleas before the Hon Edward Herrick president, and William Thomason[2] & Davis Demock[3]—Esquires his associates Judges of the court of common of Susquehanna County, at a court of common pleas held at Montrose in and for said county, on Monday the twenty ninth day of November A.D. 1830.

George H. Noble & Co
vs
Joseph Smith Jr.

Transcript from the docket of J— Lane[4] esqr. filed and entered August 31st 1830. Judg[men]t for Pltf. [plaintiff] 26th instant for—$190.95/100.

---

2. On William Thompson (1764-1842), see V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834, n. 25.

3. On Davis Dimock, see V.A.1, ISAAC HALE STATEMENT, 1834, n. 26.

4. On Jesse Lane, see V.E.5, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY (PA) LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833, n. 8.

[*Remainder entered at a later date*]

Judgment Satisfied as per pltfs [plaintiff's] ackn[owledgmen]t

filed June 4th 1831
Tax 25
Prot[honotary][5] 37½ 62½/100 p[ai]d by Pltf [plaintiff]

[*2. Transcript*][6]

Susquehanna County S.S.

George H. Noble & Co
vs
Joseph Smith, Jr

Amicable action Augus[t] 26th 1830 on a prom[iss]=ory Note drafted Augus[t] 25th, 1830 [f]or $190.95[.] Due o[n] [—][7] and De[fenda]=nt confesses Judgemen[t] for—$190.95

Aug 26th 1830

Costs	
Justice	$0.12½
Transcript	18¾
	$0.31¼

Seal

I do certify that the above is a true Transcript of a Judgement witnessed by me at the Suit of George H. Noble &, Co, against Joseph Smith, Jr.—Witness

---

5. Prothonotary was the northern Pennsylvanian term for county clerk.

6. Because this was the first case in the term and the cases were filed in a ribbon-bound bundle at the front of a tightly-packed metal drawer, the document sustained some damage. A search was made for a missing fragment, without success. A filing notation on the back of the transcript, which is visible when folded, reads: "No. 1— / Nov[embe]r. T[erm]. 1830. / George H Noble & Co / vs / Joseph Smith Jr. / Transcript Filed & entered / Aug[us]t 31[,] 1830 / Tax 25 [cents] / Prot[honotary] 37½ [cents] / 62½ [cents] paid by / Pltf [plaintiff]." Also written on back: "G. H. Noble, &. Co, / vs / Joseph Smith, Jr. / Transcript / Filed Aug[us]t 31[,] 1830."

7. Unfortunately, the document is damaged and the due date is missing.

my hand & seal at Harmony the 26th day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred & thirty

Jesse Lane
Justice of the Pea[ce]

[*Power of attorney on separate slip of paper*]

We George H Noble & Co do by these presents authorise & empower Levi Westfall[8] of Harmony for us & on our name to acknowledge satisfaction in full[9] for the amount due on a certain Judgment against Joseph Smith Jun. obtained before Jesse Lane Esq the 26th August 1830 for $190.95[.] Costs 31½ cents—& entered up in the Prothonotarys office for Susquehanna Co[unt]y to create a Lien[10]—

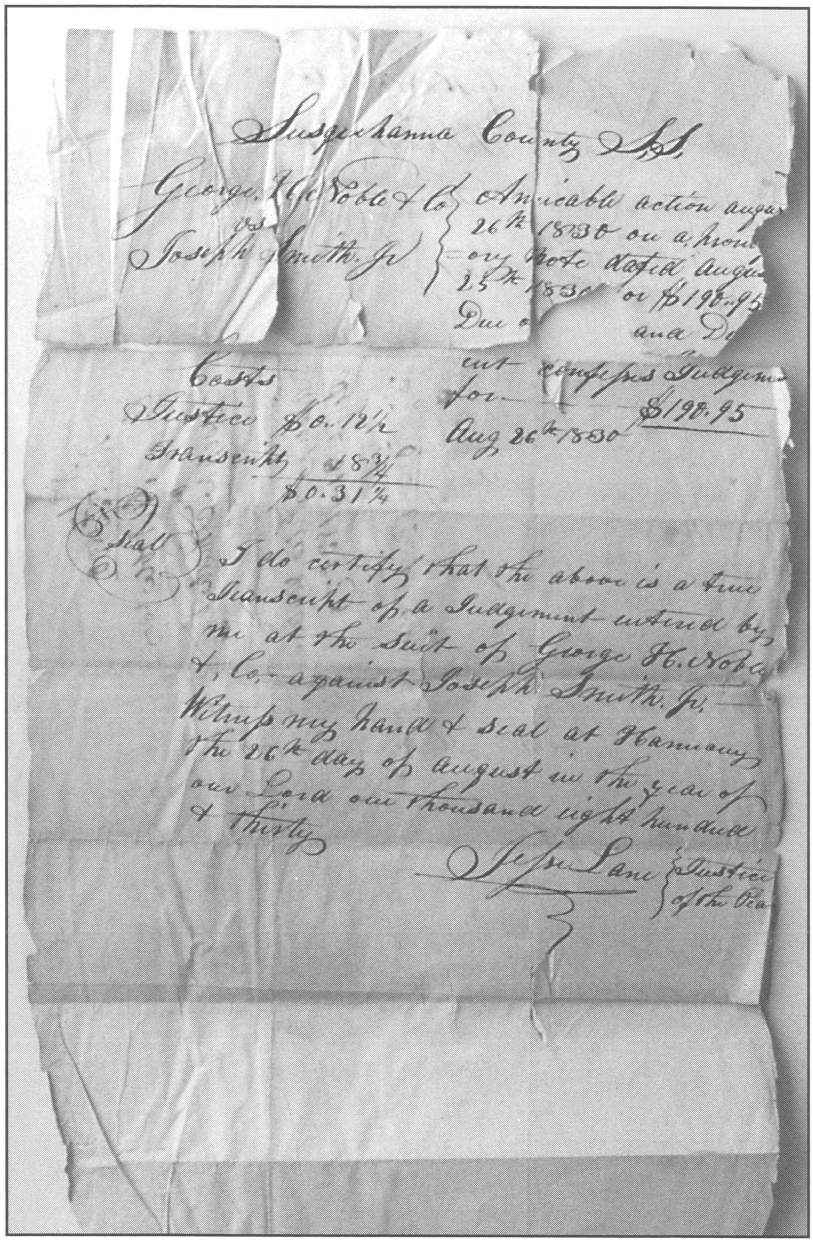
Witness our hand Harmony 3 June 1831

George H Noble & Co

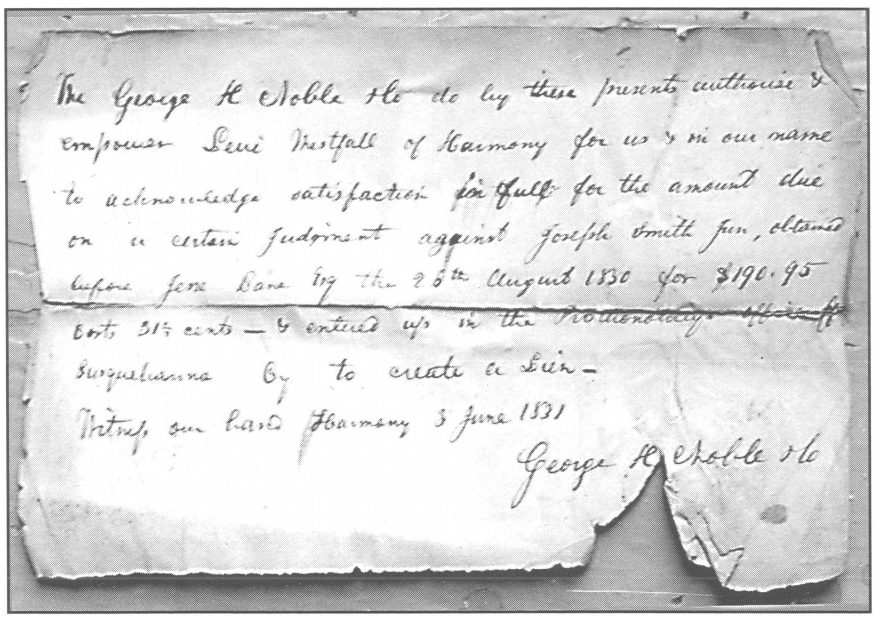
8. Levi Westfall (1799-1872), son of James and Catherine Westfall, was born in Harmony, Pennsylvania. In 1825 he purchased 2,700 acres of timber land from Timothy Pickering and others for the manufacture of lumber, and for many years he transported lumber on the Susquehanna River. He married Rachel Taylor in 1836. He was elected justice of the peace in 1855. He died in Oakland (Stocker 1887, 556-57).

9. The words "in full" written over "for the f[ull?]."

10. Unfortunately, Susquehanna County lien records do not reach as far back as the 1830s.



Transcript of George H. Noble & Company vs. Joseph Smith, Jr., showing that on 25 August 1830 Smith gave Noble & Company a note for $190.95 and that on the following day an "amicable" action was entered against Smith for that amount. Courtesy Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania.



The George H Noble & Co do by these presents authorise & empower Levi Westfall of Harmony for us & in our name to acknowledge satisfaction in full for the amount due on a certain Judgment against Joseph Smith jun, obtained before Jesse Lane Esq the 26th August 1830 for $190.95 Costs 31½ cents — & entered up in the Prothonotarys Office of Susquehanna Co to create a Lien —

Witness our hand Harmony 3 June 1831

George H Noble & Co

Addenda to George H. Noble & Company vs. Joseph Smith, Jr., showing that on 3 June 1831 the Court of Common Pleas at Montrose was notified that Smith's note for $190.95 had been paid. Courtesy Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania.

7.
HARMONY (PA) CENSUS RECORD, 1830

Federal Census, Harmony (now Oakland), Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, 1830:2 (original in National Archives, Washington, D.C.).

EDITORIAL NOTE

The federal census for 1830 was begun, according to law, on 2 August 1830. A notation at the end of the Susquehanna County enumeration suggests that it was completed by 20 November. Because Joseph Smith left in mid-September (Porter 1971, 170-71, n. 162), it follows that his household must have been counted sometime in August or early September. Below is the information that pertains to his family:

HARMONY CENSUS DATA			ANALYSIS TO SMITH FAMILY
number	*sex*	*age*	
1	male	10-15	Identity unknown.
4	male	20-30	Consistent for Joseph Smith, age 24; and perhaps Oliver Cowdery, age 23; John Whitmer, age 27; and David Whitmer, age 25 (see discussion below).
1	female	20-30	Consistent for Emma Smith, age 25.

Two of the three unidentified male adults were probably Oliver Cowdery and John Whitmer. Cowdery left Harmony in July, but census takers were asked to enumerate all those who were considered residents up to June 1830 (Wright 1900, 140). Whitmer's presence is verified by his signature on Smith's land deed, dated 25 August 1830, as well as by a letter to the Saints in Colesville, dated 28 August 1830 (see I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HARMONY [PA] LAND RECORDS, 1828-1833; I.A.3, JOSEPH SMITH TO COLESVILLE SAINTS, 28 AUG 1830).[1] The third unidentified adult male may have been David Whitmer, who was apparently staying with the Smiths in late June when he and Smith, Cowdery, and brother John visited Colesville to baptize members of the Knight family and others

1. Cowdery is not listed in the Fayette census with the Peter Whitmer family.

(I.A.15, JOSEPH SMITH HISTORY, 1839, 42). David evidently returned to Fayette in July with Cowdery.

The young boy between ten and fifteen may have been the same unidentified boy mentioned by R. M. Stocker: "[H]e [Smith] had a boy living with him that attended Miss [Lusena] Hupman's school during the summer of 1830" (see V.E.8, LUSENA HUPMAN BILL, 1830; Porter 1971, 167-68). Larry C. Porter has suggested that this unnamed boy "might be one of the Hale children, or perhaps even [Joseph's younger brother] Don Carlos Smith" (Porter 1971, 167, n. 152). Don Carlos, age 14, is listed with his parents in the 1830 census of Manchester, Ontario County, New York (see III.L.21, MANCHESTER [NY] CENSUS RECORD, 1830). While not entirely ruling out the possibility of Don Carlos's presence in Harmony, his enumeration in Manchester tends to favor Porter's first suggestion, except that all of Emma's brothers were older than fifteen in 1830; it would have to have been a nephew.

8.
LUSENA HUPMAN BILL, 1830

Rhamanthus M. Stocker, *Centennial History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: R. T. Peck & Co., 1887), 564.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Lusena (Hupman) Barton (1812-?) was the teacher at Prospect School, erected in 1830 "on the south side of the river, on the 'old road,' and on the hill not far from Canavan's Glen" (Stocker 1887, 564). According to Rhamanthus M. Stocker, "Mrs. Lusena Hupman Barton, the first person employed to teach in the public schools in what is now Oakland, was born in Otsego County, N.Y., in 1812. She came with her parents to Windsor, N.Y., when she was four years of age. In 1830 she was engaged to teach the school in the new school-house that is mentioned in the preceding paragraph. A short time after the term closed she was married to Ephraim Barton. In 1847 they removed to Oakland. Here and at Hickory Grove, in Great Bend, they lived until Mr. Barton's death, in 1833. Mrs. Barton now resides with her daughter, Mrs. B[enjamin]. F. McKune, although on the opposite side of the river, yet not far from the place where she conducted the first district school in this township nearly sixty years ago" (1887, 564).

The present document is a bill submitted by Hupman at the end of the 1830 term listing eight heads of families (including Joseph Smith) who had sent pupils to the school, as well as the number of days attendance. The original has not been located, but it was published by Stocker in 1887. He reports that "he [Smith] had a boy living with him that attended Miss [Lusena] Hupman's school during the summer of 1830" (V.D.7, RHAMANTHUS M. STOCKER ACCOUNT, 1887, 556). The 1830 census of Harmony, Susquehanna County, lists a male "of ten and under fifteen" living with Joseph Smith (see V.E.7, HARMONY [PA] CENSUS RECORD, 1830). For a possible sixteen weeks (112 days), Smith was charged for only ten days. Compared with Jesse Hale's 238 days, which probably represents the attendance of more than one child, Smith's dependent probably did not attend longer because the family left the area in mid-September.

Lusena Hupman's bill for teaching school in the new school-house in the township of Harmony in the summer of 1830, Jesse Hale and Joel Salisbury trustees,—

Jesse Hale[1] sent 238 days	$3.54	—paid.
Denison Root[2] sent 309 days	4.56	
Alva Hale[3] sent 148½ days	2.20	"
Joel Salsbury[4] sent 95½	1.40	"
Wm Chamberlin[5] sent 74½	1.10	"
Daniel Cook[6] sent 44 days	.61	"
Joseph Smith sent 10 days	.15	"
Sarah Brush went 1 day	.01	
Rachel Reynolds[7] went 29 days (county scholar)	.43	
Total 946 days	$14.00	
Total amount for teaching school 16 weeks at 7 shillings per week	$14.00	

1. Jesse Hale, one of the directors and trustees of the school, had six school-age children. The 1830 census indicates that he and his wife had seven dependents under fifteen years of age, one less than five years old.

2. Denison Root (in his forties) and his wife had seven children at home, three less than five years old and two older than fifteen. The Roots owned 333 acres of land in 1829-30 (Harmony Assessment Records, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania).

3. Alva Hale and his wife had four children, two less than five years old.

4. Joel Salisbury had three school-age children. He apparently died before the 1830 census was taken; his children were enumerated with his wife, Lydia (in her thirties). In 1829-30 Joel owned forty-nine acres of land (Harmony Assessment Records, Susquehanna County Courthouse).

5. William Chamberlain (in his seventies) and his wife had four children, three older than fifteen. The Chamberlains moved to Harmony in 1828 as renters and were still propertyless in 1830 (Harmony Assessment Records, Susquehanna County Courthouse).

6. Daniel Cook (in his twenties) and his wife had three children, two less than five years old. Daniel purchased fifty acres of land from Smith Salisbury in 1827 (Harmony Assessment Records, Susquehanna County Courthouse).

7. Rachel Reynolds was the seven-year-old daughter of widow Lydia Reynolds, who was unable to pay for her daughter's schooling according to Jesse Hale's note of 2 January 1828 in the assessor's book (Harmony Assessment Records, Susquehanna County Courthouse; see also 1829). Although Lydia also had two school-age boys, only Rachel attended school.

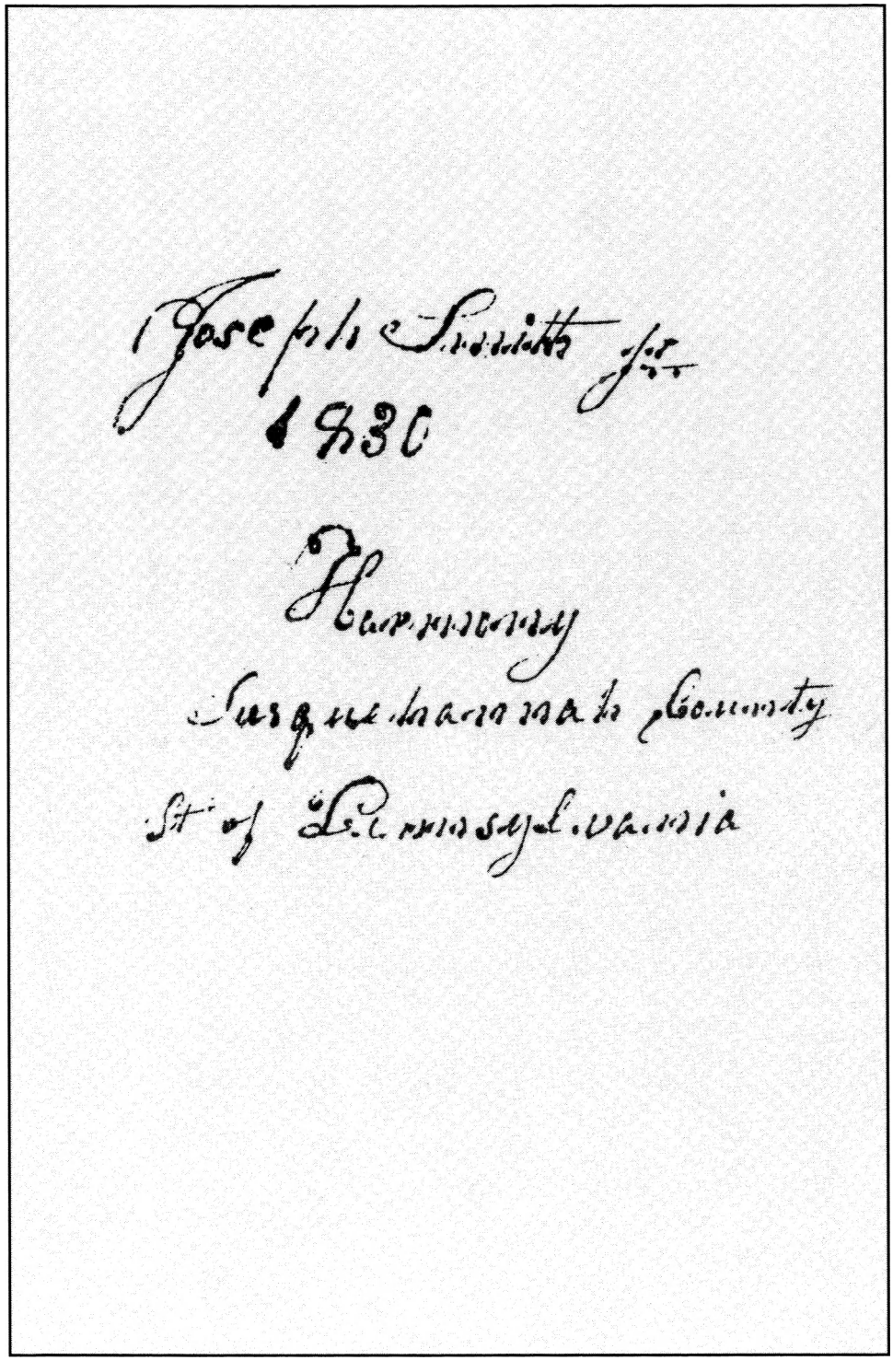
9.
INSCRIBED BOOK OF MORMON, 1830

Joseph Smith, inscription on front flyleaf, *The Book of Mormon* (Palmyra, New York: E. B. Grandin, 1830), Rare Books Department, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The present item is inscribed on the front flyleaf of a first edition Book of Mormon. Concerning this inscription, the late Dale Morgan wrote: "A copy of the first edition of the Book of Mormon in the University of Utah library, which was inscribed by Joseph Smith at Harmony, Pennsylvania, in 1830, does not indicate too imperfect a hand. I have not seen an earlier specimen of his handwriting" (J. P. Walker 1986, 365, n. 25). Still, the inscription does not compare well with other known samples of Smith's handwriting. Notice (opposite) the awkward mix of cursive and printed letters, whereas Smith rather consistently connected his letters (see Jessee 1984, 9-10, 39-10, 39-57, 233-36, 240-42, 255-57). Dean C. Jessee expressed to this writer his reservations regarding the inscription. Yet, the variants are not so extreme as to rule out Smith's authorship. The book's provenance is unknown. According to archivists, it was purchased by the Marriott Library on 6 October 1935. If the inscription is genuine, the book may have been Smith's personal copy or one signed to someone in the Harmony area.

Joseph Smith Jr.
1830
Harmony
Susquehannah County
St[ate] of Pennsylvania.



Front flyleaf of an 1830 Book of Mormon showing a possible Joseph Smith signature. Courtesy Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acts of a General Nature, Ordered to be Re-printed, at the First Session of the Eighteenth General Assembly of the State of Ohio. Columbus, OH, 1820.

Anderson, Mary Audentia. *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale.* Independence, MO: [Herald Publishing House], 1929.

Anderson, Richard Lloyd. "The Impact of the First Preaching in Ohio." *Brigham Young University Studies* 11 (Summer 1971): 474-96.

——. "Who Were the Six Who Organized the Church on 6 April 1830?" *Ensign* (June 1980): 44-45.

——. "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching." *Brigham Young University Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 489-560.

——. Review of *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined,* by Rodger I. Anderson. *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 3 (1991): 52-80.

Ashment, Edward H. "'A Record in the Language of My Father': Evidence of Ancient Egyptian and Hebrew in the Book of Mormon." In Brent Lee Metcalfe, ed., 329-93. *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon: Explorations in Critical Methodology.* Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993.

Ashurst-McGee, Mark. "The Josiah Stowell Jr.–John S. Fullmer Correspondence." *Brigham Young University Studies* 38 (1999): 108-117.

Beers, F. W. *Atlas of Susquehanna Co., Pennsylvania.* New York: A. Pomeroy and Co., 1872.

The Biographical Record of Henry County, Illinois. Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1901.

Bitton, Davis. *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies.* Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1977.

Blackman, Emily C. *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1873.

Boltwood, Lucius M. *History and Genealogy of the Family of Thomas Noble, of Westfield, Massachusetts.* Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood and Brainard Co., 1878.

Boyd's Binghamton City and Susquehanna Railroad Directory. Binghamton, NY: H. E. Pratt, 1873.

Brodie, Fawn M. *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945.

Brush, Stuart C., and Russell B. Brush. *The Descendants of Thomas and Richard Brush of Huntington, Long Island: A Source Book.* Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1982.

Buerger, David John. "A Preliminary Approach to Linguistic Aspects of the Anthon Transcript." Semester Project for Dr. Paul R. Cheesman. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, Winter 1978. Photocopy in my possession.

Bushman, Richard L. *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984.

Cake, Lu B. *Peepstone Joe and the Peck Manuscript.* New York: L. B. Cake, 1899.

Cannon, Donald Q., and Lyndon W. Cook. *Far West Record: Minutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1844.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983.

Carpenter, Amos B. *A Genealogical History of the Rehoboth Branch of the Carpenter Family in America.* Amherst, MA: Press of Carpenter and Morehouse, 1898.

Clark, Albert. *Methodist Episcopal Church, Lanesboro, Pennsylvania.* Lanesboro, PA: 1912.

Clark, John A. *Gleanings By the Way.* Philadelphia: W. J. & J. K. Simon, 1842.

Cochrane, Mildred English. *From Raft to Railroad: A History of the Town of Greene, Chenango County, New York, 1792-1867.* Ithaca, NY: Cayuga Press, 1967.

Commemorative Biographical Record of Northeastern Pennsylvania. 3 vols. Chicago: J. H. Beers and Co., 1900.

Cook, Lyndon W. *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith: A Historical and Biographical Commentary of the Doctrine and Covenants.* Provo, UT: Seventy's Mission Book Store, 1981.

Cook, Lyndon W., and Milton V. Backman, Jr. *Kirtland Elder's Quorum Record, 1836-1841.* Provo, UT: Grandin Book Co., 1985.

Crowley, Ariel L. "The Anthon Transcript." *Improvement Era* 45 (Jan., Feb., Mar. 1942).

Danforth, Edward. *Stones from the Walls of Jericho: The Official Bicentennial History of Bainbridge, New York.* Bainbridge, NY: The Town of Bainbridge, 1987.

Eagle, William H. *An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.* Harrisburg, PA: De Witt C. Goodrich and Co., 1876.

Ensley, Gerry L. "It's Time to Halt the Nonsense about Joseph Smith's So-Called '1826 Trial.'" Unpublished paper, ca. 1987.

Faulring, Scott H., ed. *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith.* Salt Lake City; Signature Books, 1987.

Gay, W. B. *Historical Gazetteer of Tioga County, New York, 1785-1888.* Syracuse, NY: W. B. Gay and Co., [1888].

Grant, Carter E. "Along the Susquehanna River." *Improvement Era* (May 1960): 306-9, 336-44.

——. "An Angel Visited This Home." *Improvement Era* (March 1963): 168-72, 190-96.

Hanson, Paul M. "The Transcript from the Plates of the Book of Mormon." *Saints' Herald* 103 (12 November 1956): 5-7.

Hartley, William G. *"They Are My Friends": A History of the Joseph Knight Family, 1825-1850.* Provo, UT: Grandin Book Co., 1986.

Hedengren, Paul. *In Defense of Faith: Assessing Arguments against Latter-day Saint Belief.* Provo, UT: Bradford and Wilson, 1985.

Hill, Donna. *Joseph Smith, the First Mormon.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977.

Hill, Marvin S. "Joseph Smith and the 1826 Trial: New Evidence and New Difficulties." *Brigham Young University Studies* 12 (Winter 1972): 223-33.

——. Letter to the editor. *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Spring 1983): 6.

History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. 2 vols. Chicago: A. Warner and Co., 1889.

History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio. Philadelphia: William Brothers, 1878.

History of Lee County [Illinois]. Chicago: H. H. Hill and Co., 1882.

Holzapfel, Richard Neitzel, and T. Jeffery Cottle. *Old Mormon Palmyra and New England: Historic Photographs and Guide.* Santa Ana, CA: Fieldbrook Productions, Inc., 1991.

Holzapfel, Richard Neitzel, T. Jeffery Cottle, and Ted D. Stoddard. *Church History in Black and White: George Edward Anderson's Photographic Mission to Latter-day Saint History Sites 1907 Diary, 1907-8 Photographs.* Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1995.

Howe, E. D. *Mormonism Unvailed: or, A Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time.* Painesville, OH: E. D. Howe, 1834.

Jenson, Andrew. *Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia.* 4 vols. Salt Lake City: Andrew Historical Co., 1901-1936; rept. Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971.

Jessee, Dean C. "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History." *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Autumn 1976): 30-39.

———. Comp. and ed. *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984.

———, ed. *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Autobiographical and Historical Writings. Vol. 1.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989.

———. "Priceless Words and Fallible Memories: Joseph Smith as Seen in the Effort to Preserve His Discourses." *Brigham Young University Studies* 31 (Spring 1991): 19-40.

———, ed. *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Journal, 1832-1842. Vol 2.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992.

Jones, Carl Hugh. "The 'Anthon Transcript' and Two Mesoamerican Cylinder Seals." *Newsletter and Proceeding of the S[ociety]. [for] E[arly]. H[istoric]. A[rchaeology].* No. 122 (September 1970): 1-8.

Kennedy, James H. *Early Days of Mormonism.* London: Reeves and Turner, 1888.

Kenney, Scott G., ed. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal.* 9 vols. Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983-1984.

Kimball, Stanley B. "The Anthon Transcript: People, Primary Sources, and Problems." *Brigham Young University Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 325-64.

Kirkham, Francis W. *A New Witness for Christ in America: The Book of Mormon.* 2 vols. Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1951.

Knisley, Alvin. *Biographical Dictionary of The Latter Day Saints Ministry: From the Rise of the Church to 1948.* Independence, MO: 1948.

Lancaster, James E. "The Translation of the Book of Mormon." In Dan Vogel, ed., 97-112. *The Word of God: Essays on Mormon Scripture.* Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990.

Laws of the State of New York. 2 vols. Albany, NY: E. Croswell, 1838.

Laws of the State of New York, Revised and Passed at Thirty-Sixth Session of the Legislature. 2 vols. Albany, NY: H. C. Southwick and Co., 1813.

Looking Back: Souvenir Book of the Susquehanna County Sesquicentennial Celebration, 1810-1960. Ca. 1960.

Ludlow, Daniel H., et al., eds. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure.* 4 vols. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1992.

Madsen, Gordon A. "Joseph Smith's 1826 Trial: The Legal Setting." *Brigham Young University Studies* 30 (Spring 1990): 91-108.

Magnusson, Magnus, ed. *Cambridge Biographical Dictionary.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Marquardt, H. Michael. "An Appraisal of Manchester as Location for the Organization of the Church." *Sunstone* 16 (February 1992): 49-57.

Marquardt, H. Michael, and Wesley P. Walters. *Inventing Mormonism: Tradition and the Historical Record.* Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1994.

McKiernan, F. Mark, and Roger D. Launius. *An Early Latter Day Saint History: The Book of John Whitmer, Kept by Commandment.* Independence, MO: Herald House, 1980.

Melder, Keith. *Beginnings of Sisterhood: The American Women's Rights Movement, 1800-1850.* New York: Schocken Books, 1977.

The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography. 59 vols. New York: James T. White and Co., 1891-1980.

A New Conductor Generalis: Being a Summary of the Law Relative to the Duty and Office of Justice of the Peace, Sheriffs, Coroners, Constables, Jurymen, Overseers of the Poor, &c. &c. Albany, NY: 1819.

Newell, Linda King, and Valeen Tippetts Avery. *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1984.

Nibley, Hugh. *The Myth Makers.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1961.

Nichols, Beach. *Atlas of Chenango County, New York.* Philadelphia: Pomeroy, Whitman & Co., 1875.

Partridge, Eric. *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English.* Macmillan Co., 1967.

Peck, George. *The Life and Times of Rev. George Peck, D.D., Written by Himself.* New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1874.

Plat Book of Broome County. Des Moines, Iowa: Northwest Publishing Co., 1908.

Porter, Larry C. "A Study of the Origins of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1831." Ph.D. dissertation. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1971.

——. "'Ye Shall Go to the Ohio': Exodus of the New York Saints to Ohio, 1831." In Milton V. Backman, Jr., ed. *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1990.

Porter, Larry C., and Jan Shipps. "The Colesville, New York, 'Exodus' Seen from Two Documentary Perspectives." *New York History* 62 (April 1981): 201-11.

Prince, Gregory A. *Power from on High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood.* Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995.

Quinn, D. Michael. *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987; 2nd ed. Rev. and Enl. Signature Books, 1998.

Randall, S. S. "Historical and Personal Reminiscences of Chenango County, New York." *Historical Magazine* 3 (February 1874): 90-93.

Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County [Illinois]. Dixon, IL: Inez A. Kennedy, 1892.

The Revised Statutes of the State of New York. 3 vols. Albany: 1829.

Riley, I. Woodbridge. *The Founder of Mormonism*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1903.

Rose, Walter R. "Considerations Regarding the So-Called Joseph Smith Treasure Holes Near the Village of Afton, New York." Unpublished paper, 13 August 1986.

Seward, William Foote. *Binghamton and Broome County, New York: A History*. 3 vols. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1924.

Shook, Charles A. *Cumorah Revisited; or, "The Book of Mormon" and the Claims of the Mormons Reexamined from the Viewpoint of American Archaeology and Ethnology*. Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Co., 1910.

Smith, Henry P. *History of Broome County, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers*. Syracuse, NY: D. Mason and Co., 1885.

Smith, James H. *History of Chenango and Madison Counties, New York*. Syracuse, NY: D. Mason and Co., 1880.

Smith, Joseph, Jr. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. B. H. Roberts, ed. 7 vols. 2nd ed. rev. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1948 printing.

Stearns, George A. *The Schools of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, 1795-1945*. Montrose, PA: Susquehanna County Historical Society and Free Library Assoc., 1947.

Stevens, Frank E. *History of Lee County, Illinois*. Chicago: S. T. Clarke Publishing Co., 1914.

Stocker, Rhamanthus M. *Centennial History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: R. T. Peck and Co., 1887.

Stowell, William Henry Harrison. *Stowell Genealogy*. Rutland, VT: Tuttle Co., 1922.

Tuttle, Daniel S. "Mormons." In Philip Schaff, ed., 2:1576. *A Religious Encyclopaedia*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1883.

——. *Reminiscences of a Missionary Bishop*. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1906.

Van Wagoner, Richard. *Mormon Polygamy: A History*. 2nd ed. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989.

Van Wagoner, Richard, and Steven Walker. "Joseph Smith: The Gift of Seeing." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Summer 1982): 48-68.

Vogel, Dan. *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988.

——. "Anti-Universalist Rhetoric in the Book of Mormon." In Brent Lee Metcalfe, ed. *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon: Explorations in Critical Methodology*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993.

——. "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 197-231.

Walker, John Philip, ed. *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism: Correspondence and a New History*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986.

Walters, Wesley P. "Joseph Smith's Bainbridge, N.Y., Court Trials." *Westminster Theological Journal* 36 (Winter 1974): 123-55.

——. "From Occult to Cult with Joseph Smith, Jr." *Journal of Pastoral Practice* 1 (Summer 1977): 121-37.

——. "The Abduction of Emily (Coburn) Austin." *Gospel Anchor* 10 (May 1984): 22-31.

Waterman, Thomas Gladsby. *The Justice's Manual: or, A Summary of the Powers and Duties of Justices of the Peace in the State of New-York*. Binghamton, NY: Morgan and Cannoll, 1825.

Watson, David Lewis. *The Early Methodist Class Meeting: Its Origins and Significance*. Nashville: Disciples Resources, 1987.

Webster, Noah. *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language*. Hartford, CT: Hudson & Goodwin, 1806.

——. *An American Dictionary of the English Language*. 2 vols. New York: S. Converse, 1828.

Who Was Who in America: A Compact Volume of Who's Who in American History. 5 vols. Chicago: Marquis Publications, 1966.

Who Was Who in America: Historical Volume, 1607-1896. Chicago: Marquis Publications, 1967.

Wilkinson, J. B. *Annals of Binghamton*. Binghamton, NY, 1840.

Williams, Nancy C. *After One Hundred Years*. Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1951.

Wilson, James Grant, and John Fiske, eds. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. 7 vols. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1887.

Wisbey, Herbert A., Jr. *Pioneer Prophetess: Jemima Wilkinson, the Public Universal Friend*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1964.

Woodward, Charles. *The First Half Century of Mormonism*. 2 vols. New York, 1880. Scrapbooks of newspaper clippings in the New York Public Library.

Wright, Carroll D. *History and Growth of the United States Census*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900.

Wymetal, Wilhelm Ritter. *Joseph Smith, the Prophet, His Family and His Friends*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1986.

Young, Brigham, et al., *Journal of Discourses of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. 26 vols. Liverpool: [Albert Carrington and others], 1853-1886.

INDEX

Addison, Steuben County (NY), 193, 193n5

Adleman, Debra, 432

Afton, Chenango County (NY), 128, 129, 132n10, 138, 140, 144, 146, 149, 150, 158, 160, 189, 189n1, 191, 191n1, 193, 194, 194n13, 195, 195n17, 195n18, 196, 197, 197n5, 200, 201, 201n1, 201n5, 203, 203n3, 203n4, 204, 205, 207, 219, 221, 222, 222n1, 224, 225, 339. *See also* South Bainbridge, Chenango County (NY)

Afton Lake, 193n11, 195n19, 339n8

Albany (NY), 17, 107n2, 267

Albany & Susquehanna Railroad, 339

Amboy, Lee County (IL), 150n7, 293, 299, 311, 317, 340, 342, 344, 369, 399

Amboy Journal, 299, 307, 307n30, 311, 313, 314, 318, 321, 321n24, 398-99

American Home Missionary Society, 91, 92, 165n7

Amherst (OH), 100

Anderick, S. F., 133n17

Anderson, George E., 358-59n41, 396n32, 420

Anderson, Richard L., 12, 67, 178, 367n1

Andover, Ashtabula County (OH), 221n15, 223n12

Andover University, 91

Andrus, Hyrum L., 12

Andrus, William B., 307

Annals of Binghamton (1840), 412n14

Anthon, Charles, 17, 17n29, 185n21, 276, 377-81, 382-86, 387, 415, 416, 417

Anti-Masonic Inquirer, 227

Aplington, James, 194, 194n14

Aplington, Nathan, 194, 194n15, 195

apostle(s), 5, 34, 42, 48, 228, 230

Articles of Agreement (money digging company), 3, 131n7, 131n8, 284n2, 302n10, 302n12, 407-13

Ashtabula County (OH), 221, 223

Ashurst-McGee, Mark, 205n1, 250n12

Atherton, Charles, 251n19

Atherton, Cornelius, Jr., 203, 204n4, 252n19

Atherton, Cornelius, Sr., 204n4

Atherton, Mary, 204n4

Atlas of Chenango County, New York, 195n17

Atlas of Susquehanna Co[unty]. (1872), 411n7

Attleton, Deacon, 251, 251n19

Austin, Addison, 98, 98n16, 109n19

Austin, Emily (Colburn), 25, 109n20, 110n22, 164-76, 206n6; abduction of, 4, 51, 91-93, 169-70, 267

Avery, Valeen Tippetts, 184n18

Aylsworth, Ira, 269

Aylsworth, Roswell, 268

Bachman, Daniel W., 416

Bacon, Asher (or Ashel), 252n21

Bacon, Mr., 252

Badger, Bostwick, 152, 152n17, 161, 228n2

Badger's Tavern, 185

Bainbridge (NY) *Enterprise*, 230-33

Bainbridge (NY) *Republican*, 128, 138-42

Baker, Abigail, 148

Baker, Christina (Shiffer), 148

Baker, Harvey, 155n28, 196-200, 220n4

Baker, Joshua, 148

Baker, Smith, Jr., 148

Baker, Smith, Sr., 148-49, 153, 153n23, 154n24, 155n29, 157-58, 157n35, 160, 162, 220n4

Banks, William, 255n31, 255n32, 256n36, 269, 270

baptism, 4, 11, 21, 21n43, 22, 22n48, 25, 27n5, 38, 38n40, 39, 40n47, 40n48, 41n50, 42, 44, 47n8, 47n10, 47n12, 49, 50, 51-52, 52n29, 61, 62n59, 63, 66, 68, 69, 69-70n5, 72, 72n7, 72n8, 72n9, 82, 91, 92n4, 97n12, 100, 101, 102, 113, 114, 114n7, 150n7, 153n21, 154, 154n24, 157, 162, 168, 168n17, 168n18, 193, 193n11, 194n13, 195, 198, 205, 213, 213n3, 215, 217, 217n3, 217n4, 219n2, 223n12, 235, 235n9, 267, 277, 281, 288n26, 339, 339n8

Baptist(s), 110, 169, 194n14, 288n26, 289n26

Baptist Register, 288n26

Barber, A. P., 368

Barre, Hollis, 195n18

Barton, Ephraim, 440

Barton, Lusena (Hupman), 402, 402n9, 440-41

Barton, N. E., 138

Barton, Tioga County (NY), 253n24

Battolph (or Buttolph) and Thorp, 143, 254n27

Beaman, Alvah, 16, 16n18, 16n19

Beardsley, Oscar R., 189, 189n1, 206, 207, 208

Beardsley, Sally Ann, 110n24, 189-90, 201-202, 203

Beardsley, Seba, 189, 189n1, 189n3, 201

Beatty, Erkuries, 197

"Beginnings of Mormonism," 205

Belcher, Jack, 335, 336n6

Belcher, John, 335n5

Bell, Ketchel E., 178-80, 408n3

Bell, Milo, 178, 179

Bell, Mrs., 179

Belvidere, Boone County (IL), 257

Bend Mountain, 250n11, 251, 251n15, 410n5

Benjamin, William Evarts, 416n1

Bennett, John C., 300-01n4

Benson, Mr., 369-70

Benson, Rutland County (VT), 100

Benton, Abram W., 4, 22, 22n51, 57, 82n1, 94-99, 108n11, 108n12, 109n19, 111n26, 122n4, 137n25, 221n12, 221n13, 246, 247, 247n4, 249n8, 268

Benton, Orange, 94

Bettsburgh, Chenango County (NY), 149, 153, 157, 161, 183n11, 197, 219-20n4

Bible, 29, 37, 48, 154, 168; revision of, 42, 215

Bidamon, Emma (Smith). *See* Smith, Emma (Hale)

Bigelow, Levi, 123n12, 241, 255n31, 257, 261n7, 261n8, 261n9, 262n9, 263n2, 264n3, 264n4, 264n5, 264n6, 265n12, 266n12, 266n13

Binghamton, Broome County (NY), 24, 84, 149, 156, 159, 163, 190, 337, 337n1, 350n19, 369, 395. *See also* Chenango Point, Broome County (NY)

Binghamton, Lee County (IL), 177

Binghamton (NY) *Herald*, 234-36

Binghamton (NY) *Republican*, 148, 149, 251n16, 349n13, 361

Biographical Record of Henry County, Illinois, 86

Bird, Mr., 78, 79

bishop(s), 66

Blackman, Emily, 251n15, 281, 293, 301, 302n14, 334, 339n10, 341n6, 341n8, 353n26, 360, 389-97, 399n6, 410, 411n7, 413n17

Blackman, Josiah, 389

Blair, William W., 299, 299-300n2, 300, 306n29, 313n49, 340, 343, 344

Blowers, Isaac, 151n13

Blowers, Mr., 151, 152, 161, 270

Blowers, S. D., 151n13

Blue Ridge (PA), 139, 139n3

Book of Commandments, 21n43, 58n45

Book of Mormon, 21, 22, 30, 36, 42, 47, 48, 72, 81, 86, 87, 92, 96n7, 96n9, 96n10, 100, 101, 104, 107, 114, 123,

123n11, 142, 142n8, 167, 169, 186, 213, 216, 221, 223, 231n3, 232, 267, 268, 276, 281-82, 283, 287, 291, 296n2, 297, 297n4, 306n28, 308, 309, 342, 343, 354, 356, 358, 385n7, 388, 389, 392, 394, 398n1, 403, 415, 442; characters, 17, 185n21, 278, 377, 380, 383, 387, 415-17; printing of, 20, 227, 235, 277, 339, 391; referred to as "Golden Bible," 129, 145, 194, 195, 213, 232, 283, 300, 303, 313, 319, 320, 329, 354, 355, 359, 385, 392, 401, 402; sale of, 20n41; witnesses, 96n10, 167, 167n16, 179, 179n6, 207

Borbin, Ezra W., 270

Bordentown (NJ), 367

Boston (MA), 91

Boyd's Binghamton City and Susquehanna Railroad Directory, 337n1

Boynton, Nathan, 4, 57, 122, 122n4

Bramhall, Miss., 252n19

Brattleboro' (VT) *Messenger*, 213-14

Brazee, Peter, 259, 259-60n1

Brazee, Tunis, 259, 259n1

Bridgeman, Peter G., 3, 132n11, 242, 248, 248-49n5, 255n31

Bridgewater, Susquehanna County (PA), 288n26, 298n1

Briggs, J. S., 307

Brigham Young University Studies, 259

Broadhurst, Dale, 299n1, 318

Brodie, Fawn M., 128

Broome County (NY), 3, 24, 31, 54, 71, 73, 95n4, 104, 106, 111, 113, 117n13, 143, 151n13, 152, 160, 178, 209, 219, 221, 223, 226, 235, 339, 345n2

Broome County Courier, 148

Brush, Ard, 346

Brush, Elizabeth (Tylor), 346

Brush, Lydia (Squires), 346

Brush, Mary (Treadwell), 346

Brush, Samuel, 346, 355n31, 359n42, 359-60, 364-65n9, 394

Brush, Sarah, 441

Brushville (PA), 346

Buchanan, James, 124

Buck, Ichabod ("Captain"), 334, 335n4, 336, 336n7

Buck, John B., 334-36, 391n8

Buck, N., 195, 195n17

Buffalo (NY), 6, 41n50, 65, 73

Bullock, Thomas, 12n1, 69, 70, 71

Burch, Mr., 55

Burger, Marten, 265

Burnside, Clearfield County (PA), 316n54

Bush, Henry P., 230, 230n1

Bush, Riley, 199, 199n9

Bushman, Richard L., 4, 5, 12, 284n3, 306n28

Cadwell, Edwin, 299, 299n2, 300, 305n28, 306n29, 308, 309, 310, 312, 312n48, 313, 316, 321, 321n24, 340, 343

Cake, Lu B., 132n10, 191-95, 201n1, 202n5

Calvary Church, 133n15

Cambria, Luzerne County (PA), 77, 78, 79, 80

Campbell, Martha, 82-85

Campbell, Robert L., 69, 70

Canada, 107

Canandaigua, Ontario County (NY), 43, 130, 215

Carpenter, Benjamin, 193n5

Carpenter, Daniel, 193n5

Carpenter, Martha, 191, 193, 193n5, 206, 208

Carroll, Samuel Johnson, 240

Carruth, LaJean Purcell, 39n45

Carter, Jared, 6, 100-103

Carter, Lydia (Ames), 100, 101

Carthage (IL), 77n1, 86, 124

Cartwright, Barton, 86

Cauly, John, 259n1

Cayuga Lake, 6, 156, 163

Cazenovia (NY) Academy, 328

Center Village, Broome County (NY), 148, 152, 154n24, 228
Chamberlain, Alice, 334n2
Chamberlain, Alonzo, 334n2
Chamberlain, John, 193n9
Chamberlain, T [F.?] A., 334n2
Chamberlin, Joseph P., 4-5, 23n53, 23n56, 53n31, 84, 84n7, 97n14, 108n14, 115, 115n8, 146, 220, 220n8, 222, 227, 259n1, 261n6, 261n8, 267-70
Chamberlin, William, 441, 441n5
Chandler, Michael H., 415
Chapin, Joel, 129, 129n3
Chardon, Geauga County (OH), 186n30
Chase, Clark, 363
Chase, Everett E., 307, 307n30
Chase, Sally, 133n17
Chase, Willard, 14n8, 16n19, 182n6, 184n14, 250n12, 363
Chemung, Chemung County (NY), 77, 80, 112
Chemung County (NY), 340
Chenango, Broome County (NY), 100, 101, 102, 103
Chenango County (NY), 3, 22, 66, 71, 72, 82, 94, 95n4, 110n24, 113, 113n2, 143, 160, 183n11, 193n8, 197, 197n4, 199n8, 201, 222, 223, 240, 241, 245, 257, 262n10, 263, 267, 271, 281, 345n2
Chenango County Medical Society, 94
Chenango Point, Broome County (NY), 190, 395. *See also* Binghamton, Broome County (NY)
Chenango Union, 128, 137n24, 138
Chenango Valley (NY), 139
Cheshire, New Haven County (CT), 197n5
Chester, Geauga County (OH), 181, 188
Chicago (IL), 100, 181, 257
Chicago Historical Society, 178
Child, Hamilton, 155n28, 219-21, 222, 222n2, 223n6
China, Lee County (IL), 291, 296, 298, 299
Christian Advocate, 328
Church, Charles A., 308
Church, Ira, 252n19, 261, 262n9, 264, 264n6
Church, Mr., 198
Church of Christ, 6, 93, 100, 101, 103, 105
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 30, 34, 43, 44, 48, 67, 168
Cincinnati (OH) *Enquirer*, 420
Cincinnatus, Chenango County (NY), 177
Clapper, George, 203, 203n2, 252n19
Clark, Albert, 293
Clark, Clara E., 180
Clark, John A., 283n1, 382, 415, 417
Clarke, Adam, 293, 329, 329n7, 333
Clay County (MO), 25, 66
Clericus, 213-14
Cleveland (OH) *Herald*, 375
Cobb, James T., 143, 299, 317, 318, 398n1
Coit, Thomas Winthrop, 382, 386, 417
Colburn, Amasa, 91, 164, 165n10, 171, 175, 176
Colburn, Emily. *See* Austin, Emily (Colburn)
Colburn, Esick Lyon, 91, 164, 165, 165n8, 170, 171, 172, 172n29, 173
Colburn, Experience, 164
Colburn, Henry, 171n25, 172n28, 174n34
Colburn, Jane, 175
Colburn, Sally. *See* Knight, Sally (Colburn)
Cole, Sarah, 293
Colesville, Broome County (NY), 4, 6, 11, 25, 26, 27n8, 28, 28n11, 34, 41n51, 43, 45, 46n5, 47, 60n52, 63n62, 64, 66, 91, 92, 97n13, 98n16, 101, 107n4, 110n25, 111, 114n5, 114n7, 144, 144n2, 145, 148, 151n11, 152n17, 152n18, 152n19, 153n21, 156n31, 158n38, 164, 165, 165n7, 166n11, 167n16, 171, 173, 181, 182, 182n1, 182n2, 183n7, 183n9, 183n13, 185, 185-86n27, 186n29, 191, 199n9, 204n5, 213, 215, 216, 217, 221n15, 228, 230n1, 235, 247, 254n29, 278, 350n19, 356n36, 357n39, 409, 409n4, 412n16, 438; Smith searches for

treasure in, 92, 109n20, 136n32, 166, 179, 182, 206, 219, 232, 275; Smith and others dig for salt in, 148, 152, 161, 182, 208, 228, 251n17; Smith sacrifices dog in, 109, 166, 353n24; Smith works for Joseph Knight in, 4, 11, 66, 71; box made for plates in, 150, 158; Smith casts devil out of Newel Knight in, 32-33, 93, 93n5, 111, 111n26, 149, 156, 156n32, 159, 161, 187, 195, 205, 205n4, 207, 214, 220, 222, 223, 226-27; folktale of Smith walking on water in, 148, 149, 154-55, 155n28, 157, 159, 162, 189n1, 193-94, 195, 198, 207, 220, 222, 226, 228-29; Smith refused to heal dead man in, 155-56, 158, 161; Smith seeks "spiritual wife" in, 206, 208; persecutions in, 4, 22, 24, 29-30, 35-36, 42, 50-58, 59, 61, 72, 112, 118n16, 121, 154, 154n24, 162, 235; abduction of Emily Colburn in, 91-93, 169-70; baptisms in, 4, 11, 21, 22, 27n5, 38, 38n40, 39, 40n47, 40n48, 41n51, 50, 51-52, 52n29, 61, 66, 72, 72n9, 91, 92n4, 96-97n12, 101, 153n21, 154, 162, 168, 168n17, 205, 213, 213n3, 216, 216n3, 216n4, 219n2, 235, 235n9, 267, 438; Smith arrested in (1830), 52, 72, 72n10, 73, 122; Smith tried in (1830), 5, 23, 23n58, 31-32, 55-58, 84n7, 94, 98n18, 105, 105n1, 106-111, 112, 116-18, 116n12, 122-23, 216, 216n3, 235, 268, 310n38; Smith writes letter to church in, 35n32, 36, 40, 59, 73n13; Smith confirms church in, 5, 22n48, 34, 35-36, 59; Hyrum Smith moves to, 38, 38n43; Newel Knight and Hyrum Smith evangelize in, 39-40, 61-63; Smith and Rigdon visit, 24, 153n23, 169n20, 215; Rigdon preaches in (in Knight's barn), 148, 157, 162, 169, 215; Smith preaches in, 114, 153, 166, 230; church in, moves to Ohio, 6, 24, 43-44, 66, 73, 148-49, 154, 156-57, 158, 162-63, 196-97, 203-204, 236, 433. *See also* Smith, Joseph, Jr., activities, Colesville

Collington, George, 148, 152, 154n24, 155n28, 157, 160, 228, 229, 229n3, 251n17

Columbia Heights, Manhattan Island (NY), 377

Columbia University, 276, 377, 377n1, 415

Community of Christ. *See* Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ

Congregationalist(s), 129

Conihunto, 197

Conklin, Broome County (NY), 413n19

Cook, Daniel, 441, 441n6

Corbin, Ezra W., 269

Cornell Creek, 195n17, 207

Cornell University, 377n1

Corning, Steuben County (NY), 156

Cornwall (Cornell), Abraham, 153, 161, 197n5

Cornwall (Cornell), Anna, 197n5

Cornwall (Cornell), Enos, 197, 197n5, 199n8

Cornwall (Cornell), Eunice, 197

Cornwall (Cornell), Thomas, 197, 197n5

Cortland County (NY), 196

Coventry, Chenango County (NY), 127, 189n3, 189n4, 196, 201, 393, 393n20

Coventryville, Chenango County (NY), 190

Cowdery, Oliver, 5, 13n2, 13n3, 18n35, 20, 20n39, 21, 22, 34, 37, 48, 50, 51, 57, 60, 66, 66n1, 67, 67n3, 68, 69, 72n5, 72n9, 80n11, 96n12, 180n14, 217, 235n9, 248, 277, 278, 376, 376n6, 409, 415, 416, 417, 417n2, 425, 438, 438n1, 439; witness to Hale-Smith land transaction, 425, 426, 428; as Smith's scribe, 18, 72, 185, 185n25, 227, 232, 277, 287, 343, 364, 376; baptism of, 72, 277; receives authority from angel with Joseph Smith, 5, 277; becomes Book of Mormon witness, 167, 167n16, 179n6; preaches first public discourse, 48; preaches in Colesville, 168; called to preach to Indians, 41-42, 63; preaches in Ohio, 178-79; writes letter from Kirtland to Fayette, 41, 41n50

Coxsackie, Greene County (NY), 179n12
Craig, Daniel L., 268
Cruser, W. C., 425
Culver, Aaron, 39, 51, 62n58, 151, 151n14, 152, 161
Culver, Esther (Peck), 51, 151n14
Cumorah (hill), 234, 303n18
Curtius, Marcus, 353, 353n23

Daily Tribune, 299, 300n4, 301n7, 305n23, 307n30, 318, 407, 411n7
Darnell, Robert, 261, 261n8
Davenport, Frederick, 152, 152n19, 161
Davenport, Mrs., 206, 208
Davidson, James, 23, 53, 56, 73n11, 107n8, 122, 147, 220, 223, 227, 267
Dayton, William, 291
Deland, Marcus, 190, 190n6
Delaware County (NY), 346
Delaware River, 139n3
Delrimple, Ansel, 84n6
Delrimple, Mr., 84
Demarest, Richard, 84n5
Demarest, Sister, 84
DeMill, Anna (Knight), 27, 27n5, 28, 28n11, 41, 45n4, 47, 47n10, 47n12
DeMill, Freeborn, 27n5, 28, 28n11, 41, 47, 47n12, 209
DeMill, Isaac, 208
DeMill, Oliver, 41, 41n51
Deming, Arthur B., 178, 181, 188, 368, 408n3
Denison, Jane, 199n9
DeZeng, Philip, 243, 246, 247, 262n9, 263-66
Dibble, David, 336n6
Dibble, Philo, 336n6
Dimock, Davis, 283, 288, 288n26, 316, 433
Dimon, Charles, 283, 288, 288n24, 289, 291, 296, 298, 316, 319, 325, 327
Doctrine and Covenants, 12, 19, 19n36, 22, 58, 61
Doolittle, C. B., 154n24, 349n13
Doolittle, Mehetable, 337-39, 345-46, 348, 355n33, 357
Doolittle, Samuel, 349n13
Doraville, Broome County (NY), 206, 208
Doty, James Duane, 121, 121n3
Doud, R. C., 301n10, 302n14, 335n4, 395, 395n25, 395n26, 410
Dubois, Abraham, 294
Dunkirk (NY), 6

East Grove (IL), 398
Egyptian ("Reformed"), 207, 213, 231, 276, 378, 380, 417
eight witnesses, 96n10
elder(s), 5, 44, 63, 63n62, 67, 68, 77n1, 100, 104, 147, 168, 170n23, 171, 181, 214, 216, 253n26, 299, 312, 313, 314, 315, 328, 329, 334, 387
Eliat, George, 268
Elliot, Mr., 243n2
Ellmer, 143n1
Elmira, Chemung County (NY), 78, 82, 83, 84
Enoch, 43
Episcopalian(s), 239, 240, 283n1, 367
Erie Canal, 3
Erie Railway, 338, 360, 361, 364
Essex County (VT), 148
Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate, 94
Evans, Josiah, 261, 261n7, 264, 264n5
Evans, Newel, 261, 261n6

Fairbanks, Helen L., 137n24
Fairport (OH), 6, 65, 73, 187
Far West (MO), 179n10
Fayette, Seneca County (NY), 4, 6, 24n58, 24n61, 58, 63n62, 69, 69n4, 81n13, 105, 278, 426, 438, 439; Joseph Smith moves to (1829), 6, 114n6; (1830), 23n58, 36, 60, 60n52; baptisms in, 4, 38, 44, 49, 70n5; Smith translates in, 144n2, 277; revelation received in, 37, 38; orga-

nizes church in, 235; Oliver Cowdery preaches first public discourse in, 48; Oliver Cowdery writes from Kirtland to brethren in, 41n50; church conferences in, 25, 37-38, 43, 49, 60-61, 64, 68; Sidney Rigdon meets Smith in, 24n60, 73n14, 153n23, 215; church in, moves to Ohio, 236. *See also* Smith, Joseph, Jr., activities, Fayette

Fayetteville, Onondaga County (NY), 132n15, 257

Felix, 117

Felker, J. B., 307

First Presbyterian Church, 281

Fisk, Richard, 199n8

Flat Brook, 396

Florence (NE), 66

Follet, Mr., 243n2

Forscutt, Mark H., 313n49

Fraser's Magazine, 239

Freeman, Sarah M., 106

Freemason(s), 106, 302n10

French prophets, 96

Friendship, Allegany County (NY), 252n19

Fullmer, John S., 77-79

Fullmer, Peter, 77n1

Fullmer, Susannah (Zerfass), 77n1

Fulton, Whiteside County (IL), 94

Gallatin County (MT), 407n2

Garret, Daniel W., 270

Gazetteer and Business Directory of Chenango County, 222

Genesee Conference, 328

Geneva (NY), 91, 145

Geneva College (NY), 133n15

Gibson, Susquehanna County (PA), 335, 335n5

Gilbertsville (NY), 389

Gold Bible Brook, 194, 195

Goldthwaite, Lydia. *See* Knight, Lydia (Goldthwaite)

Goodenough, 350, 350n19, 352

Goodrich, Benjamin C., 264n2

Goodrich, Samuel R., 263, 263n2

Grand River, 73

Grandin, Egbert B., 20, 227, 235

Granger, Carlos, 178

Grant, John, 408, 409, 412, 412n16

Great Bend (PA), 123, 130, 130n4, 139, 283n1, 288n25, 294, 334, 336n7, 371, 371n2, 440

Great Britain, 77n1

Greene, Chenango County (NY), 127, 137, 156, 156n31, 158, 161

Grimes, Mr., 334

Guernsey Memorial Library, Norwich (NY), 128, 137n24, 230

Guilford, Chenango County (NY), 149, 164, 164n2, 165, 165n10, 171, 265

Guilford, Windham County (VT), 40n47, 174

Gunna Hunter, 197

Hale, Alva(h), 16n22, 275, 278, 281, 283, 284n3, 286, 291-92, 300n4, 301, 310, 312, 312n47, 313, 313n49, 316, 319, 320, 325n2, 354, 392n13, 424, 441, 441n3

Hale, David, 177, 398, 413

Hale, Elizabeth. *See* Wasson, Elizabeth (Hale)

Hale, Elizabeth (Lewis), 281, 291, 397, 420, 429, 430

Hale, Emma. *See* Smith, Emma (Hale)

Hale, Isaac, 3, 13, 16, 35, 58, 114, 151n11, 184, 184n18, 187, 188, 206, 208, 234, 275, 278, 291, 293, 294, 295, 300n4, 301, 302n12, 303, 305, 306n28, 308, 310, 316, 317, 326, 328, 328n3, 329, 336n7, 337, 338, 338n6, 342, 348, 349, 354, 357, 358, 358-59n41, 364, 369, 375, 392n13, 394, 395, 395n26, 397n33, 399n6, 408, 410, 411, 411n7, 411n8, 413, 420, 421, 422; treasure seekers board at home of, 275, 284, 303n16, 341, 362, 395, 407, 409; initially supported Stowell's treasure seeking ven-

ture, 281, 352, 362, 395, 413n17; handles plates in box, 286; disputed story of his being converted from deism by Emma, 313, 313n49, 315-16, 342, 343-44; sends letter to Joseph and Emma in Manchester (1827), 319-20; threatens to shoot Smith, 358, 359, 363; prepares statement for Hurlbut, 282-83, 292; and Howe, 281-89, 392; transfers land to Smith, 424-31, 432-33

Hale, Isaac W., 424n3

Hale, Jesse, 276, 283, 292, 421, 422n2, 424, 424n3, 440, 441, 441n1, 441n7

Hale, Rueben, 18n32, 276, 319, 320, 355, 355n31, 359, 360, 364, 365n9, 402, 415

Hale, Tryal. See Morse, Tryal (Hale)

Hale, William, 151, 151n11, 161, 301, 302, 302n11, 312n46, 341n3, 370n2, 408, 409, 409-410n4, 411, 411n7, 411n8, 412

Halfway Brook, 196

Halifax, Windham County (VT), 66, 71

Hall, Levi, 51

Hallstead, Susquehanna County (PA), 281

Hallstead (PA) *Herald*, 371

Hamilton, Lee County (IL), 399n4

Hamilton College, 143

Hanson, Paul M., 377n1

Harford, Susquehanna County (PA), 334

Harmony, Susquehanna County (PA), 4, 5, 11, 14n8, 16, 16n20, 16n22, 18n35, 19, 20n39, 22, 23n58, 24, 34-35, 36, 58, 60, 60n52, 73n13, 81n13, 95n4, 109n15, 114n5, 123, 123n11, 131n9, 138n2, 144n7, 158n40, 185n23, 208, 215, 219n1, 268, 281, 282, 288, 288n24, 291, 293, 296, 297n3, 298, 302n12, 305, 309, 310, 310n38, 312, 314, 315, 317, 319, 321, 325, 327, 328, 329n4, 336n6, 336n7, 338n4, 338n6, 339n7, 339n10, 340, 342, 345, 346, 350n17, 353n26, 354n29, 367, 367n1, 368, 375n2, 376n5, 376n6, 377, 389, 389n2, 391n5, 395n26, 396n32, 398, 402n9, 409, 410, 413, 415, 420, 435n8, 440, 441n5, 442; Smith searches for treasure in, 250, 251, 251n15, 275, 281, 284, 396, 398-99, 403-404; Smith sacrifices sheep (dog) in, 300, 302, 308-309, 312, 341, 341n6, 352-53, 352n22, 353, 353n24, 392-93, 393n17, 399; treasure seekers' articles of agreement drafted in, 407-13; Smith translates in, 144n2, 206n9, 236, 275-78, 284n2, 300, 302n11, 305, 309, 319, 355, 359, 418; records relating to Smith's property in, 421-22, 424-31, 432-35; census records, 438-39. *See also* Oakland, Susquehanna County (PA); Smith, Joseph, Jr., activities, Harmony

Harper, George, 395, 395n27

Harper, Oliver, 301, 301-02n10, 302, 302n14, 335n4, 341n3, 353, 353n26, 358, 358n40, 362, 392, 392n15, 393, 394, 394n21, 394n22, 395, 395n26, 396, 408, 410

Harpersfield, Delaware County (NY), 178, 301n9

Harpersville, Broome County (NY), 148, 149, 150, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 160, 162, 199, 230, 356, 364, 366, 392, 392n15

Harpersville Budget & Nineveh Standard, 83n1

Harris, Emer, 38, 61, 61n57

Harris, Lucy, 185-86, 185-86n27, 186n29, 276, 321, 356, 358, 365, 376, 391, 401, 415

Harris, Martin, 16n19, 16n21, 18n32, 38, 61, 68, 132n10, 145n8, 185, 185n25, 186, 186n27, 188, 206, 282, 286n15, 287n20, 287n21, 292, 294, 295, 296, 297n4, 311n41, 314, 320n12, 325, 360, 365n9, 375-76, 376n5, 393, 393n20, 394, 401n4, 403, 403n2, 426; a Universalist, 296n2; gives Smith money, 145, 276; takes Book of Mormon characters to learned, 17, 17n24, 185n21, 276, 365, 377-81, 379n5, 380n7, 380-81n9, 382-86, 415, 416, 417; acts as Smith's scribe, 18, 18n35, 276, 286, 320, 321, 355, 364, 418; loses 116-pages of translation, 18, 185-86, 185-86n29, 186n28, 186n30, 277, 311n41, 321, 356, 365, 376, 401; asks Smith for a view of the

plates, 286-87; meets William Sayre in March 1829, 144-45, 144n7; has vision of plates, 385n7; financially assists in printing Book of Mormon, 20, 235n4, 356, 365, 391; demands revelation from Smith, 20, 21, 227; attacked by supernatural force, 20-21; baptism of, 21, 21n43, 72n7; ordained priest, 68; helps sell Smith's Harmony property, 349-50, 364, 427; becomes dissenter in Ohio, 104

Hart, Chauncy, 190n6

Hartford (CT), 382

Hartland, Huron County (OH), 106

Hartley, William G., 14n14, 17n28, 26

Hartwick, Otsego County (NY), 144

Haskell, W. H., 307

Hatch, Ebenezer, 108n14, 267, 271

Hawes, Rex B., 425

Hayden, Irena. *See* Hine, Irene

Hedengren, Paul, 243

Herrick, Edward, 433

Hervy, Joseph, 196

Hickory Grove, Susquehanna County (PA), 402, 440

Hicks, Garcet, 264

Hicks, James, 264n3

high council, 25

high priest(s), 25, 66, 170n23

Hill, Clinton, 180, 180n16

Hill, M. G., 201, 201n1, 203

Hill, Marvin, 259, 306n28

Hill, Nan, 205-208

Hinds, L. P., 399n6

Hine, Irene, 186, 186n30

Hine, Riley, 181

Hine, William R., 181-88, 251n16, 251n17, 282, 285n6, 367n1, 408n3

History of Chenango and Madison Counties, 224

History of Mormonism (1840), 301n5

History of Susquehanna County (1873), 301, 302, 308, 312, 339n10, 341n6, 353n26, 360, 410

History of Wayne, Pike and Monroe Counties (1886), 400

Hobart (NY), 177

Hobart College (NY), 133n15

Hodgeman, Timothy, 264, 264n4

Holleran, Mrs. Dan, 128

Holmes, Abiel, 154n26

Holmes, Dr., 154

Honesdale (PA), 400

Howe, Eber D., 179, 179n12, 188, 216n4, 282, 283, 301n5, 301n6, 318, 328n4, 375-76, 377, 377n1, 381, 382-83n1, 392

Huber, Mr., 207

Hudson River, 107n2

Hulbert, Mr., 207

Humboldt, Alexander, 380, 380n7

Humphrey, James H., 241, 257, 259, 259n1, 261n7, 264n2, 264n4, 264n5, 265n12, 266n13

Hunt, Polly, 190, 190n5

Hunter, Greene County (NY), 148

Huntington, Luzerne County (PA), 77n1

Hupman, Lusena. *See* Barton, Lusena (Hupman)

Hurlbut, Philastus, 187-88, 191n2, 282, 283, 292, 328n4, 375, 391

Illinois College, 106

Independence (MO), 236, 397, 416

Independent Volunteer, 391n9

Ingersoll, Peter, 275, 285, 285n10, 286n12

Iowa, 164

Ithaca (NY), 6, 73, 103, 156, 158, 163

Jackson, Andrew, 80n8

Jackson, Susquehanna County (PA), 293

Jackson County (MO), 11, 25, 66

Jacksonville, Morgan County (IL), 106

Jericho (NY), 129, 222, 222n1, 230, 232. *See also* North Bainbridge (NY)

Jessee, Dean C., 12, 12n1, 16n19, 67, 153n22, 442

Jessup, William, 431, 431n9

Jewel, Deacon, 174

Jim Crow, 115

John (the Baptist), 277

Johnson, Aaron, 243n2

Johnson, Thomas A., 156, 156n31, 158, 161, 162, 337, 337n1

Justice's Manual, 255n32

Kartright, Delaware County (NY), 190n5

Kelleys, 181

Kidd, Robert, 130, 179, 182, 183, 191, 232, 304n21

Kidder, Daniel P., 301, 301n5

Kimball, Heber C., 200, 200n12

Kimball, Mr., 200

Kimball, Solomon Farnham, 200n12

Kirkham, Francis W., 137n24

Kirtland, Geauga County (OH), 6, 11, 24, 25, 41n50, 42, 43, 44, 64, 73, 104, 105, 164, 176, 178n4, 179n10, 181, 186n27, 187, 188, 204, 215, 216n4, 236, 387

Kirtland Bank, 104

Klingman, Mildred, 128

Knight, Anna. *See* DeMill, Anna (Knight)

Knight, Elizabeth, 24n63, 27n8, 45n4

Knight, Esther. *See* Stringham, Esther (Knight)

Knight, Joseph, Jr., 12, 45n4, 46n5; biographical data, 66; baptism of, 22n48, 51, 66; statement regarding church organization, 66-70; history, 71-73

Knight, Joseph, Sr., 6, 14n8, 15n16, 25, 26, 27, 28, 45, 45n4, 46, 46n5, 47, 52, 67, 94, 96n8, 105n1, 110n21, 113n2, 114, 114n4, 114n5, 114n7, 150, 152n17, 154n24, 156, 156n32, 161, 162, 166, 182n2, 205, 205-06n4, 208, 213, 219, 219n2, 221n12, 226, 228, 230-33, 235, 243, 247, 425, 433; biographical data, 11; formerly a Universalist, 21, 21n44, 165, 235; reminiscence of, 11-24; present when Smith brings plates home, 11, 14, 14n12, 72; hires Joseph Smith, 4, 11, 66, 71, 183n13, 275; Smith searches for treasure on farm of, 109n20, 166; digs for salt with Smith, 148, 161; aids Smith during translation, 4, 11, 20, 72; visits Smith in Harmony, 277; present during church organization, 4, 20-22, 72n7; baptism of, 4, 11, 21, 22, 22n48, 51, 72; Smith receives revelation for, 21n43; hires Smith's legal counsel, 23, 53, 72-73, 112, 116, 267; testifies at Smith's trial (1830), 98, 98n17, 221, 221n13, 223, 227; Rigdon preaches in barn of, 149, 153, 157, 215; sells farm and moves to Ohio, 11, 24; moves to Missouri, 24

Knight, Lydia (Goldthwaite), 25, 45

Knight, Nahum, 27, 27n3, 28, 45n4, 47, 47n8, 71n3, 151n9, 152, 205

Knight, Newel, 22n48, 45n4, 71n3, 110n22, 151, 151n11, 152, 164, 164n3, 165n6, 166, 167, 170, 171, 175, 217, 426; biographical data, 25; autobiography of, 45-65; journal of, 25-44; meets Smith, 25; describes Joseph Smith's character, 27-28; Smith cast devil out of, 32-33, 44n58, 48-49, 49n16, 55-56, 93, 93n5, 98-99, 98n17, 98n18, 111, 111n26, 149, 156, 156n32, 158-59, 161, 187, 195, 196, 196n1, 205, 205n4, 207, 214, 220, 222, 223, 226-27; baptism of, 4, 11, 22n48, 25, 44, 49, 72n9; testifies at Smith's trial (1830), 55-56, 98-99, 98n18, 111n26, 187, 187n34, 221, 221n12, 223, 227; visits Smith in Harmony with wife, 5, 34-35, 58, 73n13; Hyrum Smith moves in with, 6, 38, 61; preaches with Hyrum Smith, 6, 39-40, 61-63; moves Smith to Fayette, 23n58, 36, 60, 278, 402n9; attends church conferences in Fayette, 37, 60-61, 64; vision of, 49-50, 168n19; ordained priest, 25, 170n23; ordained elder, 44, 170n23

Knight, Polly. *See* Stringham, Polly (Knight)

Knight, Polly (Peck), 11, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 45, 72, 100n1; baptism of, 21, 22n48, 51

Knight, Sally (Colburn), 4, 5, 22n48, 25,

28, 33, 46, 46n7, 51, 52n29, 58, 73n13, 91, 110n22, 164, 164n3, 165, 165n6, 166, 167, 168, 169, 173, 175, 176, 213n3, 217-18
Knight, William, 151
Knox County (NE), 25

La Harpe (IL), 66
Lake Erie, 134, 135, 140, 188, 224
Lamanite Mission, 178n4
Lancaster, Lancaster County (PA), 412n12
Lane, Jesse, 421, 422, 426, 430, 430n8, 431, 432, 433, 435
Lanesboro, Susquehanna County (PA), 129, 130, 138, 138n2, 139, 225, 312, 334, 391, 403
Lawrence, Samuel, 14, 14n8, 15, 15n17, 16, 16n19, 184n14, 285n5
Leach, Herbert, 294
Leadbetters, G. A., 259
LeCouver, Eleanor, 427n5
Lee, E. G., 104
Lee, Timothy, 316, 316n54
Lee Center, Lee County (IL), 327
Lee County (IL), 291, 296, 298, 299, 307, 327
Lehigh River, 139
Lewis, Elizabeth. *See* Hale, Elizabeth (Lewis)
Lewis, Hiel, 151, 278, 299-316, 305n28, 311, 317, 318-21, 340, 341n6, 395n26, 398, 398n3, 410, 411n8
Lewis, Jedediah, 269
Lewis, Joseph, 151, 278, 299-316, 305, 305n28, 315, 319, 320, 321, 340, 341n6, 395n26, 398, 398n3, 410, 411n8
Lewis, Levi, 281, 283, 296-97, 298, 300n4, 301, 314, 346, 392n13
Lewis, Miles, 398, 398n3
Lewis, Nathaniel, 58, 278, 283, 284, 289, 291n2, 293-95, 296, 299, 300, 300n4, 301, 305, 311, 325, 325n3, 327, 328, 329, 333, 392n13, 398n3, 399n4
Lewis, Nathaniel C., 294-95n3, 301
Lewis, Sophia, 283, 296, 298, 300n4, 301, 315, 392n13, 418
Lima (IL), 66
Lincoln, Abraham, 121n3
Lippincott's Magazine, 148, 361
Lisle, Broome County (NY), 101, 101n1, 196
Little, Josiah, 308
Livonia (NY), 16
Lobdell House, 219, 219n2, 226
Locust Hill, 394
Long, John V., 67n2, 69, 69n4, 70
Louisville (KY), 39n45
Luzerne County (PA), 391
Lyons, Amanda, 341n8, 391, 391n5, 394, 394n21, 395-96, 397
Lyons, David, 341n8, 391, 391n5

M. S. C., 216
Madsen, Gordon A., 128, 242, 243, 244, 245, 245n3, 249n6, 260n4
Madsen, Truman, 12
Maine, 133, 141
Manchester, Ontario County (NY), 3, 11, 14, 14n11, 19, 20, 23, 29, 61, 130n5, 134n19, 182, 182n5, 191n2, 193, 205, 207, 224, 252n24, 275, 277, 278, 285n9, 291, 311n41, 328-29n4, 335n4, 336n6, 361n1, 375, 397n35, 407, 424; Joseph Smith meets Josiah Stowell, 81n13, 95n4, 130n4, 131n7, 225, 275, 302n11, 363n4; location of church organization, 20-22, 21n43, 70n5, 72n7, 339; baptisms in, 21, 21n43, 72n7, 231
Manlius (NY), 257
Manti (UT), 209
Marathon (NY), 177
Markham, Stephen, 66
Marks, C. R., 403
Marlborough, Windham County (VT), 25, 26, 45
Marquardt, H. Michael, 67, 241, 257
Marriott Library, 442

Marsh, Harriet (Johnson), 110n24, 148, 149, 150n6, 155n28, 156n30, 156n32, 156n33, 158, 158n40, 160, 161, 162, 354n29

Marsh, Thomas, 38

Marshall, Charles, 239, 240, 241, 251n18, 251n19, 252n20, 252n23, 255n31, 255n33, 256n35

Mason(s), 202n5

Massachusetts, 129, 160

Mather, Frederick G., 82n1, 148-59, 160-63, 297n3, 337, 345-60, 353n26, 359n41, 361-66, 418, 425, 427

May, Samuel, 260, 260n2

McIntosh, Mrs., 371

McKune, Benjamin, 338, 338n4, 339, 339n7, 349, 350, 364, 400, 425, 440

McKune, Betsy, 402n10

McKune, Elizabeth (Lewis), 300n4, 320, 321

McKune, Esther (Lewis), 325

McKune, Hezekiah, 283, 301, 315, 315n53, 327, 392n13

McKune, Joseph, Jr., 334, 339n6, 339n7, 345, 346, 350, 350n16, 350n17, 358, 358n40, 358n41, 363n2, 364, 402, 403, 403n4, 410, 410n6, 411n7, 427, 427n5, 429

McKune, Joseph, Sr., 325, 327, 337, 338, 338n4, 338-39n6, 339, 358n40, 402n10, 403, 404; handles gold plates, 339, 355n33

McKune, Joseph Fowler, 402, 402n10

McKune, Joshua, 283, 300n4, 301, 305, 310, 325-26

McKune, Robert, 402n10

McKune, Sarah (Sally), 339n7, 345, 348n10, 350n17, 350n19, 351n20, 352n22, 353n26, 354n28, 354n30, 355n32, 356n35, 357-58, 357n37, 357n38, 358, 359n42, 360, 363n2, 365, 366, 394, 410

McKune Cemetery, 346, 358-59, 360, 396, 396n30, 402, 418, 420

McLellin, William, 67

McMaster, Cyrus, 4, 57

McMaster, David, 143, 242, 253-54n27

McMaster, Mr., 253

Mead, Thompson, 263

Medbury, Arnold, 199n8

Medbury, Hezekiah, 197, 197n6, 199, 199n8

Meigs, Edmund, 177

Melchizedek priesthood, 5

Mellen, R. H., 307

Mendon (NY), 200n12

Mentor (OH), 179, 215

Merrifield, R. H., 307

Methodist(s), 35, 58, 86, 92, 110, 184, 184n18, 216, 239, 240, 249n5, 277, 281, 283n1, 285n6, 289, 293, 294, 297n4, 300, 305, 305-306n28, 310-11, 311n44, 315, 321, 321n24, 328, 329, 346, 352, 362

Methodist Quarterly Review, 328

Methodist Rocky Mountain Conference, 240

Mexico, Oswego County (NY), 112, 121

Miller, George, 26

Mississippi and Rock River Railroad, 94

Missouri, 191, 194n13, 391n9

Mitchill, Samuel L., 17, 378, 383, 384, 387, 388

Mohammed, 309

Mohawk River, 107, 107n2, 130n4

Montrose, Susquehanna County (PA), 251n17, 283, 288n26, 371n1, 389, 394n22, 431, 433

Montrose (PA) *Democrat*, 371, 425

Monument Hill (Mountain), 144n3, 183, 183n12, 183-84n13, 251, 251n16

Morgan, Dale L., 94, 96n10, 128, 133n16, 137n24, 247n4, 248, 251n17, 251n19, 254n29, 377n1, 412n14

Mormon Hill, 207

Mormon Portraits (1886), 299

Mormonism in All Ages (1842), 106

Mormonism and the Mormons (1852), 301

Mormonism Unvailed (1834), 179n12, 282, 301n5, 301n6, 375

Mormonite(s), 95, 98, 99

The Mormons; or, Knavery Exposed (1841), 104

Moroni, 231, 234, 369, 417

Morris, Jacob, 230, 234

Morris (NY), 240

Morse, John, 155, 155n29, 158, 161

Morse, Michael B., 278, 300, 303n18, 305n28, 306-07n29, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313n49, 315, 316, 321, 321n24, 340-44, 353n24, 357, 357n37, 366, 393, 393n19, 394n21

Morse, Tryal (Hale), 313n49, 340, 393n19

Moulton, Frank, 350

Mount Sinai, 115

Mt. Pisgah (IA), 11, 28n11

Munson, Geauga County (OH), 181

Naked Truths About Mormonism, 178

Nash, David K., 173, 173n31, 173n32

Nash, Esther, 173, 173n32

Nash, Mrs., 174

Nauvoo, Hancock County (IL), 11, 25, 26, 45, 66, 77n1, 82, 83, 84, 100, 112, 113, 113n1, 123, 123n12, 124, 164, 204, 296, 348, 397, 399

Neely, Albert, 95n2, 108n13, 127, 128, 132, 133n16, 141, 226, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 247, 249n7, 249n8, 255n31, 255n32, 256n35, 256n36, 257-62, 259, 259-60n1, 260n3, 260n5, 261, 261n6, 261n8, 262n9, 264, 264n6, 275; biographical data, 257

Neely, Alexander, 257

Neely, Amanda, 257

Neely, Henry Adams, 132, 132-33n15, 141, 226

Neely, Phebe (Pearsall), 257

New Berlin, Chenango County (NY), 197, 197n6, 199n8

New Canaan (CT), 336n7

New Milford, Litchfield County (CT), 40n48

New Milford, Susquehanna County (PA), 325

New Rochelle, West Chester County (NY), 382, 386

New York, 160, 184, 188, 194n13, 215, 216, 224, 235, 314, 361, 387, 412n11

New York (NY), 17, 134, 140, 185, 185n21, 215, 222, 250n12, 361, 377, 378, 382, 384, 387, 415, 416n1

Newell, Linda King, 184n18

Newton, Charles A., 408, 409, 412, 412n11, 413

Newton, P., 409, 412n11, 413, 413n19

Newton, Peter, 413n19

Newton, Phineas, 413n19

Nibley, Preston, 12

Nineveh, Broome County (NY), 106, 111, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162, 195, 199, 205, 206, 208, 228, 230

Niscayuna, Schenectady County (NY), 387

Noble, George H., 278, 426, 427, 432-35

Noble, Joel K., 5, 23n57, 84n7, 96n7, 96n8, 96n9, 98n16, 98n18, 106-111, 111n26, 116n12, 117n15, 123n10, 130n4, 137n25, 185, 187, 187n34, 206n6, 247, 247n4, 268, 308n33, 432-35

North Bainbridge (NY), 129, 143-44n1, 144, 146, 222n1, 230. *See also* Jericho (NY)

Norwich, Chenango County (NY), 143, 224, 241, 257, 259, 265

Norwich, England, 367

Norwich National Bank, 224

Nurse, Jared, 149

Nurse, Rebecca, 148, 149, 159, 160

Oakham, Worcester County (MA), 11

Oakland, Susquehanna County (PA), 138n2, 297n3, 345, 346, 371, 389, 391n5, 392, 394, 400, 401, 402, 411n7,

420, 435n8, 440. *See also* Harmony, Susquehanna County (PA)

Odell, Clary, 301n9

Odle, Ms., 301, 395n26, 411n8

Ohio, 163, 164, 169, 180, 180n14, 194n13, 215, 236, 244, 282, 283, 316, 391, 397, 427

Oneida County (NY), 107

Oneonta, Otsego County (NY), 196, 200

Onondaga County (NY), 209

Ontario County (NY), 231

Oquago Mountain, 251n15, 392n14, 410

Osborn Hollow, 350, 350n19

Oshkosh (WI), 174

Otego, Otsego County (NY), 160

Otsego County (NY), 110, 440

Ouaquaga, Broome County (NY), 199

Ouaquaga Mountain, 144, 144n3, 183, 183n9, 254n29

Oxford, Chenango County (NY), 205, 265

Oxford Gazette, 251n17

Page, Hiram, 37, 60, 61

Page, Marcus, 200, 200n11

Painesville (OH), 169, 178, 178n4, 179, 179n11, 179n12, 180, 180n16, 282, 381, 391

Painesville (OH) *Telegraph*, 375

Palestine Grove, Lee County (IL), 177

Palmyra, Wayne County (NY), 3, 14, 16n19, 18, 20, 29, 105, 107, 130, 130n4, 139, 145, 153, 156, 158, 163, 166, 182, 183n7, 186, 186n28, 186n29, 191, 191n2, 193, 207, 224, 224n1, 227, 234, 249, 250n12, 252, 276, 277, 283n1, 286, 302n11, 312, 312n46, 319, 321, 328n4, 336n6, 348, 350n18, 354, 354n29, 361n1, 362, 363n4, 364, 382, 393n20, 398n3, 401, 415, 418

Parker, Mrs., 181

Partridge, Edward, 42, 43, 64, 215

Paul (apostle), 117, 351, 362

Pearsall, Charles, 190

Pearsall, Emily, 239-40, 241, 242

Peck, Anna, 204

Peck, Benjamin, 158, 158n38

Peck, Betsy, 203-204, 304n5

Peck, Clarissa M., 194n13

Peck, Electa (Buck), 40, 40n47, 40n48, 62n59, 65

Peck, Esther. *See* Culver, Esther (Peck)

Peck, Ezekiel, 40, 40n47, 62n59, 65n72

Peck, George, 281, 328-30, 333

Peck, Hezekiah, 4, 39, 40, 51, 62, 100n1, 110n21, 116, 124, 194n13, 204, 204n5, 204n7, 213

Peck, John, 100, 100-101n1

Peck, Martha (Long), 39, 51, 62, 124, 194n13, 204n5, 204n7, 213

Peck, Phebe (Crosby), 158n38

Peck, Polly. *See* Knight, Polly (Peck)

Peck, Reed, 191, 194, 194n13, 201n1, 202n5, 204

Pecks Mills, Chenango County (NY), 204

Pennsylvania, 134, 140, 164, 165, 184, 224, 230n2, 235, 250, 250n12, 276, 314, 330, 335n4, 361, 375, 411

Perch Pond, 150, 157, 162, 208

Peter, James, and John, 5

Peters, Absalom, 91, 92

Peterson, Ziba, 42, 63, 68

Philadelphia (PA), 17, 104, 184, 185, 281, 387

Pickerel Pond, 208, 230

Pickering, Timothy, 435n8

Pierce, Norman C., 336n6

Pitcher, Chenango County (NY), 177

Pittsburgh (PA), 179

Pittsfield, Pike County (IL), 164

plates (gold), 12, 15, 15n16, 15n17, 16, 16n19, 30, 47, 66, 86, 114, 149, 158, 158n40, 167, 179, 184, 185, 193, 193n8, 207, 209, 213, 227, 228, 231, 232, 234, 275, 276, 277, 287, 300, 303, 304, 304n19, 305, 310, 314, 315, 325, 329, 334, 341, 343, 349, 354, 354n29, 355,

358, 361, 369, 376, 378, 383, 394, 401, 403, 415, 416-17; described, 231; weight of, 320, 320n12; a portion sealed, 30; kept in box, 150, 158, 286; or in pillowcase, 150, 364; handled by various persons: Josiah Stowell, 83; William and Katharine Smith, 83n2; Joseph McKune, Sr., 339; hidden in various places: under hearth, 16, 16n18, 401, 401n4; in mountain, 17; in the woods, 286, 287, 364; under cooper shop, 401n4; in a barrel of beans, 319, 354, 364, 375, 375n2, 401; Smith promises to show plates to residents of Harmony, 291, 294, 320, 325;

Plattskill, Ulster County (NY), 28n11

Plymouth, Chenango County (NY), 254n28, 413n19

Poffarl, Fred, 257

polygamy, 296n2, 314

Poole, Lewis, 203

Porter, Larry C., 12, 110n24, 155n28, 164, 217n3, 252-53n24, 396n32, 408, 412n11, 427n5

Porter, Lewis T., 255n31

Portland (ME), 133n15

Pratt, Orson, 6, 58n45, 63, 63n62, 142, 142n8

Pratt, Parely P., 41-42, 63, 63n62, 178

Pratt, Stephen, 204, 204n8

Presbyterian(s), 4, 25, 51, 57, 82, 91, 92, 93, 94, 110, 110n22, 129, 138, 141, 165, 165n7, 169n22, 172n29, 188, 225, 253n26, 253n27, 267, 281, 334, 336n7, 389, 400, 412n10

Preston, Chenango County (NY), 254n29

priest(s), 11, 25, 66, 68, 100

Princeton University Library, 336n6

Prophet, The, 417

Prophetstown (IL), 86

Purple, William D., 127-37, 138, 189n2, 219n3, 225, 242, 249n8, 250n13, 254n28, 255n31

Quaker(s), 367

Quinn, D. Michael, 16n19, 46n5, 80n9, 81n13, 111, 131n7, 134n18, 181, 182n3, 182n4, 183n7, 183n13, 250n12, 301n9, 302n11, 335n4, 336n6, 353n26, 367n1, 395n26

Quinntown (NY), 110, 110n25

Randall, S. S., 222-23

rebaptism, 69-70n5, 214

Red Rock (PA), 335n4, 336, 336n7

Reed, Amos, 121

Reed, John S., 23, 33, 53, 56, 73n11, 80n9, 107n8, 109, 112-18, 121-25, 123n12, 144, 146, 220, 223, 227, 243, 266, 266n12, 267

Religious Encyclopedia, 239

Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism (1988), 180n14

Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now Community of Christ), 181, 299, 340, 377n1, 416

Restorationist(s), 21, 21n44. *See also* Universalist(s)

Revised Statutes of the State of New York, 243, 245n3

Revolutionary War, 281

Reynolds, Lydia, 441n7

Reynolds, Rachel, 441, 441n7

Richards, Benjamin, 253n24

Richards, Mary (Stowell), 253n24

Richards, Mr., 145, 145n8, 146

Rigdon, Sidney, 6, 24, 42, 43, 64, 107, 146, 153n23, 179-80, 215-16; preaches Mormon-like doctrines in Rochester before conversion, 179-80, 180n14; baptism of, 41n50, 63, 63n67, 215; meets Smith in Fayette, 24n60, 42, 63-64, 63-64n68, 73n14, 153n23, 215; visits Colesville with Joseph Smith, 6, 24, 24n60, 169n20; preaches: in Colesville, 169; in Joseph Knight's barn, 6, 149, 153, 157, 162, 215; in Canandaigua, 215; in Palmyra, 215; visits Harmony with Smith, 427, 433

Riley, I. Woodbridge, 128

Roach, James B., 298, 298n1
Roberts, Chester, 190
Roberts, William, 189, 189n4, 190, 201
Rochester (NY), 14, 133n15, 179, 180n14, 227, 234
Rockville, Washington County (UT), 41n51
Rockwell, Orrin, 67
Rockwell, Sarah, 21n43
Rocky Hill, Hartford County (CT), 288n26
rod, 16
Rogers, Mr., 145n8
Romulus (NY), 143
Root, Denison, 441, 441n2
Rosa, Esek H., 179, 179n11
Rosa, Storm, 179, 179n12
Ross Park, 350, 350n19
Ruper, George, 429
Russell, Esq., 297n4

Saints' Herald, 340
Salem, Wayne County (PA), 400
Salina (NY), 335
Saline (MI), 209
Salisbury, Joel, 440, 441, 441n4
Salisbury, Smith, 441n6
Salt Lake City (UT), 27n8, 28n11, 66, 69, 70, 143, 239, 240, 299, 300n4, 301n7, 305n23, 307n30, 314, 318, 371, 398, 411n7
Salt Lake City Messenger, 259
Sandwich (IL), 342
Sanford, Broome County (NY), 4, 91, 92, 164n2, 165, 165n7, 165n9, 168, 169, 169n22, 170, 172, 172n28, 172n29, 173n32, 194n14, 194n15
Saunders, Lorenzo, 14n8, 184n14
Sayre, Henry S., 367-68
Sayre, Jane (Allen), 367
Sayre, William S., 113n2, 143-47
Schaff, Philip, 239
Schroeder, Theodore A., 128
Schweich, George W., 416, 416n1
Scotland, 288n25
Scott's Hotel (tavern), 199, 206, 208
Scranton (PA), 189n1
Searles, Asa B., 177
Searles, Harry, 177
Searles, Lemuel, 177
seer stone, 150, 152, 153, 160, 161, 179, 183n7, 189n6, 192, 196, 244, 249, 251, 252, 253, 260, 284, 301, 303, 308, 312, 312n46, 328, 350, 351, 353, 362, 371, 393; used by Hiram Page, 37, 146; used by Smith to translate, 144, 145, 308, 309, 313, 342; translates by putting seer stone in hat, 17-18, 287, 308, 309, 313, 320, 341-42, 343, 364, 376, 402; Smith unable to locate lost wheat with, 157-58; Smith possesses several stones: brown stone, 134, 134n19, 182, 182n3, 182n5, 182n6, 225, 250n12, 253; white stone, 134n18, 134n19, 182n3, 182n5, 250n12, 253, 320; green stone formerly owned by Belcher, 335; stone spectacles, 213, 231, 304, 305, 320, 325, 329, 333, 355, 356, 358, 364, 378, 378n3, 379, 383, 384. *See also* urim and thummim
Seneca Lake, 209, 361
seventies, 104, 387
Seymour, Dr., 186
Seymour, Ezra, 186n29
Seymour, William, 32, 33, 55-56, 109n17
Shapley, Earl, 207
Sharon, Windsor County (VT), 29, 191, 224, 231, 234
Shay, Harriet E., 201, 203-204
Shephard, John, 412n14
Shephard, John F., 408, 409, 412, 412n14
Sherer, John, 4, 51, 91-93, 164, 165n7, 170, 171n27, 267
Sherman, John, 259, 259n1
Sherwood & Easton, 252n19
Shipps, Jan, 155n28
Shutt, Mr., 396
Sidney, Delaware County (NY), 160

Sioux City (IA), 403

Skinner, A. G., 311-12

Skinner, Abram, 346, 410, 410n6

Skinner, Elisha William, 403-404

Skinner, Israel, 396, 404

Skinner, Jacob, 346, 396, 403, 410, 410n6, 418

Skinner, Jacob I., 308, 342n13, 346, 350, 351n21, 352n22, 353n24, 357n37, 358, 359, 359n42, 360, 362, 363n2, 369, 369n1, 392, 396, 402, 410, 411n7

Skinner, Polly (Winters), 403

Skinner, Rhoda, 418

Skinner, S. Dolphus, 95n1

Slade, 123

Slade, Clark, 164

Slade, Newel, 123n12, 265, 266n12

Smalling, Cyrus, 104-105

Smith, Alvin, 13, 13n4, 13n5, 304n22, 367n1

Smith, Alvin (son of Joseph and Emma Smith): birth of, 276, 298, 320, 347; death of, 348, 364; tombstone, 360, 364, 418-20

Smith, Betty, 334n3, 432

Smith, Calvin, 184-85, 184n20, 186

Smith, Emma (Hale), 4, 5, 14n8, 16, 16n22, 20, 43, 44, 116, 150, 151, 153, 158, 161, 177, 178, 276, 277, 278, 285, 291, 297n3, 299, 300, 300n4, 306n28, 313, 313n49, 316, 317, 318, 329, 337, 338, 340, 342, 343, 346, 357, 369, 371, 391, 393n19, 397, 397n33, 398, 400-401, 415, 421n1, 426, 427n5, 438; description of, 184; marries Joseph Smith, 4, 11, 14, 14n10, 64, 80n9, 114n4, 116n11, 166, 167, 184, 187, 193, 193n10, 194, 206-207, 234, 275, 281, 285, 285n6, 285n7, 285n8, 287, 303, 303n17, 318n1, 319, 321, 328, 338, 338n5, 346, 348, 348n9, 357, 363, 397n35, 404, 424; moves to Manchester following marriage, 14, 14n11, 285, 285n9, 397n35; to accompany Joseph to hill, 13, 304, 304n22; acts as Joseph's scribe, 18n32, 19, 276, 343; gives birth, 276, 298, 320, 347, 418, 426; baptism of, 51; confirmed, 34-35, 58

Smith, George A., 69, 70

Smith, Henry P., 155n28, 228-29

Smith, Hyrum, 5, 6, 27n5, 27n8, 28n11, 35, 39, 44, 48, 59, 61n56, 61n58, 66, 67, 67n3, 68, 69, 73, 100, 101, 124, 179, 179n10, 186, 277, 367, 367n1, 397, 402; moves to Colesville, 38, 38n43, 61; missionary work in Colesville, 39-40, 61-63; baptism of, 72

Smith, Israel A., 148

Smith, James H., 127, 224-27

Smith, Jerusha (Barden), 44, 179, 179n9, 179n10

Smith, Jonas, 371, 371n2

Smith, Joseph, Jr., 157, 191, 282, 283; birth of, 29, 191, 224, 231, 234, 313; statement about Joseph Knight, 11-12; history of, written by Joseph Knight, 11-24; published history, 25, 26, 29, 44, 45, 48n13, 49, 49n16, 49n20, 66, 68, 69, 97n15, 109n17, 112, 143n1, 171n27, 213n3, 285n9; character described by Newel Knight, 27-28, 46; Newel Knight's vision concerning, 49-50; referred to as "glass looker," 107, 107n5, 260, 260n3, 260n4; claimed to have never visited [North] Bainbridge, 143n1, 146; limited abilities as public speaker, 153n22; excessive drinking of, 154, 162, 191, 192-93, 192n4

—activities, Palmyra/Manchester, 23, 108, 191, 234, 335n4, 354

—*in connection with treasure searching*, 3, 250, 348, 363; finds seer stone, 133-34, 134n18, 134n19, 140, 145, 224, 350; consults seer Sally Chase for locations of treasure, 133n17; borrows seer stone from Willard Chase, 182n6; began scrying in ca. 1823, 250n12; reputation as treasure seer, 130, 131, 139, 224-25, 275, 302, 312n46, 347, 407; meets Josiah Stowell, 3, 95n4, 130, 275, 312n46,

407 (1825 not 1823, 80n9, 81n13, 107n4, 113n2, 131n7); gives Stowell demonstration of seeric abilities, 252-53; hired by Josiah Stowell, 3, 95n4, 131, 275, 302n11, 312, 407

—*in connection with plates, Book of Mormon, and church,* 13n2; organizes church, 4, 20-22, 30, 66, 67, 67n3, 68, 69, 70-71n5; in drunken state when angel appeared, 192-93, 192n4; finds plates (1823), 12-13, 234; instructed to bring Alvin to hill, 13, 304n22; returns to hill (1824), 13; instructed to bring Emma to hill, 13, 304; brings plates home (1827), 14, 14n12, 83, 83n2, 304, 401; fears attempts by money diggers to get plates, 15; borrows Joseph Knight's horse and wagon, 15, 72; describes urim and thummim, 15; hides plates under hearth, 16, 401; translates in cave, 227; injures thumb getting plates, 354n29; emotional reaction to father's baptism, 21, 21n46; preaches in Ezra Thayre's barn in Canandaigua, 215

—*miscellaneous matters*, 14, 14n11, 224, 275

—activities, Harmony, 20, 34, 72n5, 73n13, 108, 208, 219n1, 275-78, 294-95, 300n4, 302n12, 309, 314-15, 367, 397n33, 398, 442; false claim of lumbering in area in 1818, 335, 335n4; searches for treasure in, 3, 95n4, 131-32, 136n23, 250, 251, 251n15, 275, 281, 284, 299-300, 301-303, 308, 312, 328, 334, 340-41, 342, 350-53, 362-63, 367-68, 368, 369, 389, 392-93, 394, 396, 398-99, 403-404; signs treasure company's articles of agreement, 407-13; sacrifices sheep (dog), 299, 302, 308-309, 312, 341, 341n6, 352-53, 352n22, 353, 353n24, 362, 392-93, 393n17, 399; incorrectly connected with Oliver Harper (and human sacrifice), 302n14, 394, 353, 353n26, 362-63, 392-93, 394n21, 395, 395n26; insolent towards father, 284, 284n3; meets Emma Hale, 4, 8, 14, 347; promises Isaac Hale to give up stone gazing, 275, 281, 285, 286n12; moves to, 4, 16, 114, 114n5, 275-76, 281, 286, 291, 319; becomes property owner, 276, 281, 338-39, 345, 349, 349n11, 358, 359, 364, 421-22, 424-31, 432-35; confesses stone gazing nonsense, 284n3, 291, 310; says first-born son first to see (or translate) the plates, 286, 286n16, 298, 315, 326, 355, 364; promises to show plates to residents of, 291, 294, 297, 320, 325; copies Book of Mormon characters, 17, 17n24, 276, 377, 379, 384, 415-17; translates gold plates, 96n8, 104, 114, 123, 300, 305, 308, 309, 319, 320, 341, 359, 394, 418; translates from behind sheet (blanket), 145, 355, 358, 364, 379, 379n4, 384; translates by putting seer stone in hat, 17-18, 287, 308, 309, 313, 320, 341-42, 343, 364, 376, 402; receives financial aid from Joseph Knight Sr. and Jr. during translation, 4, 11, 20, 72; loans Harris 116 pages of translation, 18, 356; loses gift of translation, 18-19; attends Methodist class, 276-77, 305, 305-306n28, 310-11, 315, 321, 321n24; intoxicated (while translating Book of Mormon), 297, 297n4, 343n13, 356-57, 357n37, 358, 359, 365-66, 400; pursues extramarital relationship, 206n9; says adultery no crime, 296, 296n2, 314; says he is as good as Jesus, 297, 298, 309, 314, 320, 327; prays over cornfield, 306, 306-307n29, 311-12, 357, 358, 366, 393; ordained by John the Baptist, 277; baptism of, 72, 277; writes letter to church in Colesville from, 35n32, 36, 40, 59, 73n13; confirms Sally Knight and Emma in, 5, 34-35, 58; failed to make converts in, 149-50, 358; persecutions in, 277, 278, 282, 402n9; challenged to translate ancient

script in Clarke's Bible commentary, 329, 333; challenges Hale boys to fight, 342, 357n37; wrestles Isaac Hale, 359; called "Peeker" by Hale, 360, 363, 368; enumerated in census, 438-39; sends a boy to school, 440-41; moves from, 389n2, 402n9, 438; returns to with Rigdon to settle business, 215

—activities, South Bainbridge, 77-81, 108, 129n1, 189-90, 191, 201, 203, 219-21; lives with Josiah Stowell, 86, 113n2, 131n7; works for Stowell, 14n11, 207, 249; attends school, 77, 80, 80n10, 86, 86n1, 146, 177, 177n1, 193, 219, 219n1, 222, 222n2, 226, 228, 249; rumors of unscrupulous character, 78-79; searches for treasure in, 3, 86-87, 95, 95n2, 107, 132n10, 136n23, 140, 146, 192, 195, 195n18, 196, 197, 198-99, 207, 219-20, 220n4, 244, 249, 275; digs for silver with Stowell near Bettsburgh, 149, 153, 157, 161; searches for salt, 152n16, 251n17, 254; loses bag of Stowell's wheat and is unable to locate it with seer stone, 157-58; arrested (1826), 132n12, 141, 242, 263-66; tried as a "disorderly person" (1826), 3, 77, 94, 95-96, 105n2, 108, 108n13, 127-37, 132n12, 141-42, 224, 226, 226n6, 239-56, 275, 284n3; escapes custody, 96, 96n7, 108, 108n11; marries Emma Hale, 4, 11, 14, 14n10, 80n9, 114n4, 116n11, 166, 184, 184n18, 187, 193, 193n10, 194, 206-207, 208, 234, 275, 285, 285n6, 285n7, 285n8, 303, 303n17, 318n1, 321, 328, 338, 338n5, 346, 348, 348n9, 357, 363, 397n35, 404; buys horse from Josiah Stowell, 80n11, 97n15; arrested (1830), 108, 108n14, 122, 146, 271; tried (1830), 5, 22-23, 22n52, 23n53, 30-31, 52-54, 84, 84n7, 94, 96-99, 97n14, 98n18, 105, 105n1, 108, 108n14, 115, 115n8, 121, 122, 146, 193, 193n9, 206n9, 216, 216n3, 220, 220n8, 222-23, 223n6, 227, 235, 243, 267-70; accused of inappropriate conduct with Stowell's daughters, 206n9; baptisms in, 193, 193n11, 195, 195n19, 339, 339n8; attempts to heal dead convert in Greene, 156, 158, 161

—activities, Colesville, 34, 47-48, 57, 92, 107n4, 114n7, 136n23, 150-59, 166n11, 169, 183n7, 203, 215, 228, 231-33; works for Joseph Knight, 4, 14, 25, 46n5, 66, 71; reputation as fortuneteller, 219, 265; searches for treasure in, 92, 109n20, 136n32, 166, 179, 182, 206, 208, 219, 232, 275; preaches in, 114, 153, 166, 230, 275; flees enemies, 118n16; digs for salt in, 148, 152, 157, 161, 182, 182n2, 228, 251n17; sacrifices dog in, 109, 166, 353n24; seen in tavern translating, 185; has box made for plates, 150, 158; visits Joseph Knight with Oliver Cowdery seeking aid, 19; casts a devil out of Newel Knight, 32-33, 44n58, 48-49, 49n16, 55-56, 93, 93n5, 98-99, 111, 111n26, 146, 147, 149, 156, 156n32, 159, 161, 187, 195, 196, 196n1, 205, 205-06n4, 207, 214, 220, 222, 223, 226-27; persecuted, 29-30, 31, 35-36, 42, 48, 50-58, 59, 73, 112, 121, 154, 154n24, 235; arrested (1830), 52, 72, 72n10, 73, 115, 122, 217n3; tried (1830), 4-5, 22-23, 31-32, 55-58, 84n7, 94, 98n18, 105, 105n1, 106-111, 116-18, 116n12, 122-23, 216, 216n3, 235, 268, 310n38; receives Melchizedek priesthood, 5; confirms church, 5, 34, 35-36, 59; confirms Freeborn DeMill, 28n11; attends baptismal meeting in, 50, 96-97n12, 114n7; folktale of walking on water, 148, 149, 154-55, 155n28, 157, 158, 162, 189n1, 193-94, 195, 198, 207, 220, 222, 226, 228-29; curses Nineveh, 149, 159, 162; refused to raise old man to life in Harpersville, 155-56, 158, 161; seeks

"spiritual wife," 206, 208; predicts sinking of Seneca Lake, 209; practices hypnosis, 209-210; visits with Sidney Rigdon, 6, 153n23, 169n20, 215; Rigdon investigates Smith's character in, 216

—activities, Windsor, 182-84, 183n7, 183n9, 183n10, 252, 252n21, 253, 349n13; searches for treasure in, 275, 334; locates gold on Monument Hill, 144n3, 183, 183n12, 183n13, 251, 251n16; seen with head bandaged, 149, 158, 354, 354n29; digs for salt in, 181; searches for salt on Ouaquaga Mountain, 144, 144n3 183, 183n9

—activities, Fayette, 215; moves to, 6, 36, 60, 277, 278, 282; holds church conferences, 37-38, 60-61, 64, 215; meets Sidney Rigdon, 63-64, 215; sends Orson Pratt to Colesville from, 63n62; finishes translation in, 114n6, 277; leaves for Ohio from, 215

—activities, Ohio and Missouri (1831-38), 155n28, 316; moves to Kirtland, Ohio, 6, 24, 42, 64, 73, 147; denies ability to translate any language, 216n4

—activities, Illinois (1839-44), 77n1, 86, 112, 147, 296n2, 397

—revelations of, 19, 21, 21n42, 21n43, 22, 24, 30, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 48, 58, 61, 63, 64, 64n68, 67, 72n7, 73, 73n13, 105, 183, 187, 215, 227, 287

—visions of, 71, 142n8, 192-93, 192n3, 192n4, 231

Smith, Joseph, Sr., 15n16, 18, 20, 23, 29, 67, 84, 128, 131n8, 187, 191, 224, 224n1, 304n20, 304n21; rumor of counterfeiting in Vermont, 106; false rumor of having lived along Mohawk River in New York, 106-107, 107n2; or along Susquehanna River, 130, 130n4, 139, 177n2; or in Broome County, 228, 228n1; rumor of infidelity, 107, 107n3; treasure searching in Harmony, 3, 284, 284n3, 407-13; searches for treasure in Windsor (NY) with son, 183, 184; testifies at Joseph's 1826 trial, 134-35, 134-35n20, 141-42, 242; spies on Samuel Lawrence, 15, 15n17; visits Joseph in Harmony, 19, 277; baptism of, 21, 21n43, 72n7; moves to Ohio, 44

Smith, Lucy, 6, 13n2, 14n11, 14n12, 15n16, 15n17, 21n46, 67, 112, 130n5, 277, 354n29, 401n4, 415; baptism of, 21n43, 113, 118, 158n40

Smith, Samuel Harrison, 19, 20, 20n39, 48, 66, 67, 68, 69, 72, 277, 287n23, 425, 426, 428

Smith, William, 320n12, 367, 367n1

Smith, William (son of Jonas Smith), 371, 371n1

Smithboro, Tioga County (NY), 83, 159n41, 253n24

Smithville, Chenango County (NY), 151n13, 196, 197

Snake Creek, 251n17

Sodus (NY), 178

South Bainbridge, Chenango County (NY), 3, 4, 11, 14n10, 22n51, 25, 26, 40n47, 45, 62n59, 77, 82, 99, 106, 107n4, 111, 112, 114n5, 123n12, 127, 129n1, 131n7, 132n10, 138, 143, 144, 144n1, 145, 148, 153n20, 156n31, 160, 177n2, 189, 190, 191, 196, 197n5, 197n6, 199n8, 199n9, 203, 203n2, 203n4, 207, 219-21, 224, 239, 240, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 249n5, 250n12, 251-52n19, 252-53n24, 253n25, 253n26, 253n27, 254n28, 255n32, 257, 263, 267, 275, 317, 318-19, 356n36, 407, 409, 412n10, 412n11, 412n12; false claim that Joseph Smith was born in, 197, 197n4, 199-200, 200n10; Smith attends school in, 77, 80, 80n10, 86, 86n1, 146, 177, 177n1, 193, 219, 219n1, 222, 222n2, 226, 228, 249; Smith searches for treasure in, 86-87, 95, 107, 132, 136n23, 140, 146, 189n1, 195, 195n19, 196, 197, 198-99, 207, 219-20, 220n4, 249, 275; Smith and Stowell dig for silver near Bettsburgh, 148, 153, 157, 161; Smith

searches for salt in, 152n16, 182n2, 251n17, 254; Joseph Smith arrested in (1826), 263-66; Smith tried in (1826), 3, 77, 94, 95-96, 105n2, 108, 108n13, 127-37, 141-42, 224, 226, 226n6, 239-56, 275, 284n3; Smith marries Emma Hale in, 80n9, 114n4, 184n18, 206-207, 207n13, 234, 275, 285n7, 303n17, 338n5, 348, 348n9, 363n3, 397n35; Smith arrested in (1830), 54, 108n14, 115, 122, 146; Smith tried in (1830), 22-23, 23n53, 23n58, 52-54, 72n10, 84, 84n7, 94, 96-99, 97n14, 98n18, 105, 105n1, 108n14, 111n26, 112, 115, 115n8, 122, 146, 193, 193n9, 216, 216n3, 220, 220n8, 222-23, 227, 235, 243, 267-70; baptisms in, 62n59, 193, 193n11, 198, 223n12, 339, 339n8; Smith attempts to heal dead convert in Greene, 156, 158, 161. *See also* Afton, Chenango County (NY)

South Bend, Susquehanna County (PA), 403

Spaulding theory, 227n8

Springfield (IL), 124

Springville, Susquehanna County (PA), 335n5

Springville (UT), 77n1

Squires, Elisha, 346

Squires, Elizabeth (Winters), 297, 297n3, 314, 346, 358, 360, 363n2, 365, 400

Squires, Lydia. *See* Brush, Lydia (Squires)

Squires, Stanley, 346

St. Louis (MO), 240, 387

Stamford, Litchfield County (CT), 346

Stannard, Claudius, 187

Starruca, Susquehanna County (PA), 293

Starruca Creek (PA), 138, 138-39n2, 293

Sterling (IL), 94

Steuben (NY), 143

Stevens, Amanda, 399n4

Stevens, Ira, 398, 398-99n4

Stevenson, Edward, 67, 67n3

Stocker, Rhamanthus M., 346, 400-402, 440

Stockwell, Patience, 177

Stone, George W., 260n1

Stow, Col., 157-58

Stowell, Abishai, 412n15

Stowell, Arad, 242, 253, 253n26

Stowell, Asa, 183, 183n11, 184n13

Stowell, Calvin, 408, 409, 412, 412n10, 413

Stowell, Elihu, 408, 409, 412, 412n15

Stowell, Hezekiah, 83n1, 183n11

Stowell, Horace, 193n5, 240, 241, 242, 252n19, 253, 253n25

Stowell, Josiah, Jr., 177n1, 208, 219n1, 253n24; biographical data, 77; letter about Joseph Smith's activities in South Bainbridge, 77-81

Stowell, Josiah, Sr., 4, 14, 15n16, 31, 54, 77, 79, 81, 96n8, 110n22, 114n4, 114n5, 129, 129n1, 131n8, 132, 132n10, 132n11, 136, 137, 138, 144n3, 151n11, 152n16, 182n2, 183n11, 184n13, 193n5, 195n18, 206, 208, 213, 221n12, 226, 248n5, 249, 251n15, 251n17, 253n25, 253n26, 275, 297n3, 299, 308, 312n48, 340, 370n2, 389n1, 403n3; biographical data, 82-83; a deacon in Presbyterian church, 138, 138n1, 225, 226; hears about Joseph Smith's reputation as a seer, 130n5, 131n7; while in Pennsylvania, 130, 131n7; probably from son Simpson, 130n5, 252, 252n24; meets Joseph Smith, 3, 95n4, 130, 225-26, 252n24, 302n11, 312n46, 407 (in 1825 not 1823, 80n9, 81n13, 107n4, 113n2, 131n7, 302n11, 340-41, 342); searches for Spanish mine in Pennsylvania, 3, 131n9, 139, 225-26, 249, 302, 341, 341n3, 342, 345, 346, 407-13; signs treasure company's articles of agreement, 407-13; sponsors Smith's treasure seeing activities, 3, 95, 95n4, 275; searches for treasure on own property, 132n10, 140; digs for silver near Bettsburgh with Smith, 149, 153, 157, 161; Smith lives with, 86, 113n2, 131n7; Smith works for, 14n11, 80n9, 207, 247, 249; Smith loses bag of

Stowell's wheat and is unable to locate it with seer stone, 157-58; testifies at Smith's trial (1826), 128, 135-36, 135n21, 183n13, 226, 242, 244, 250-53, 250n11, 250n13, 284n3, 410n5; introduces Smith to Joseph Knight, 11; moves Joseph and Emma to Manchester, 4, 14, 275, 285n9, 285n9; present when Smith brings home plates, 11, 14n12; handles plates, 83; sells Smith a horse, 80n11, 97n15; baptism of, 83, 83n3, 151, 193n11, 339n8; testifies at Smith's trial (1830), 30, 53, 97-98, 105n2, 221, 223, 227; follows Smith to Ohio, 110, 110n24, 145, 158, 158-59n41, 201, 221, 221n14, 223; writes letter to Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, 82-85

Stowell, Lyman, 86-87

Stowell, Miriam (Bridgeman), 77, 82, 158-59, 159n41, 207, 206n9, 208, 248-49n5

Stowell, Rhoda, 206, 206n9, 208

Stowell, Sarah (Carpenter), 193n5

Stowell, Sarah (Leach), 86

Stowell, Simeon, 252n24

Stowell, Simpson, 3, 130n5, 252, 252-53n24, 275, 302n11, 312n46

Stowell Genealogy, 252n24

Stringham, Esther (Knight), 27, 27n4, 28, 45n4, 47, 52n29, 151, 151n12

Stringham, Julia, 51

Stringham, Polly (Knight), 22n48, 37, 45n4, 51

Stringham, William, 28, 47, 151, 152

Sublette, Lee County (IL), 291, 327

Sugar Run (PA), 77

Sullivan County (NY), 326, 327, 338

Sullivan's Hall, 191n1

Susquehanna County, 288n26, 293, 300n4, 302n14, 308, 338, 339, 346, 349, 389, 395, 398, 411n7, 412n11, 431n9, 433, 434, 435n10, 438

Susquehanna Depot, Susquehanna County (PA), 334, 337, 338, 346, 357, 364, 396

Susquehanna Historical Society, 334n3, 389, 432

Susquehanna Journal, 334, 407, 408, 409n3

Susquehanna Register, 283, 291, 294, 296, 298, 325, 327, 391n9, 392n13

Susquehanna River, 3, 4, 5, 11, 23, 26, 45, 71, 82, 129, 132n10, 138n2, 139, 140n7, 149, 150, 151, 162, 177, 179, 182, 183n12, 184, 184n14, 194, 197, 198, 199, 203, 203n3, 205, 207, 208, 219, 225, 226, 230, 250n12, 251n15, 251n16, 254n29, 275, 277, 282, 339n8, 347, 348, 350, 353, 361, 362, 367, 367n1, 392, 399n6, 424, 425, 428, 429, 435n8, 440

Susquehanna Stories, 191

Susquehanna Valley (PA), 141, 162

Taft Creek, 197

Tanner, Jerald, 259

Tarbell (Tarble), Zechariah, 4, 146, 193n10, 207, 207n13, 208, 241, 247, 255n31, 257, 259, 259-60n1, 260n2, 261n8, 262n9, 264n2, 264n4, 264n6, 265n12, 266n13, 275, 285n7

Taylor, John, 155n28

Taylor, Rachel, 435n8

teacher(s), 68

Texas, 116

Thayre, Ezra, 215

Thelsey, 269

Thompson, Arthur N., 427n5

Thompson, Charles, 387-88

Thompson, Jonathan, 31, 54, 105n2, 128, 131n9, 136, 136n22, 141, 142, 152n16, 226, 242, 244, 251n17, 254-55, 254n28

Thompson, Susquehanna County (PA), 293, 408

Thompson, William, 283, 288, 288n25, 289, 293, 316, 433

Thompson (OH), 24, 44

Three Mile Creek Cemetery, Clayton (NY), 112

Ticknor Brook, 197

Tillman, James M., 399n6, 411n7

Times and Seasons, 26, 29, 35, 37, 42, 43, 49n16, 84, 84n4, 112, 387
Tinkertown (NY), 177
Tioga, Tioga County (NY), 77, 253n24
Tioga County, 110n24
Tioga Point, Tioga County (NY), 412n14
Tooker, Alfred, 307
Travis, John, 424n3
Treadwell, Jason, 301-02n10, 353, 358n40, 394n22, 408
Triangle, Broome County (NY), 200n11. *See also* Lisle, Broome County (NY)
Trinity Church, 382
Trinity College, 382
Tucker, Pomeroy, 182n3, 250n12
Turkey Hill, 392, 392n14
Turner, Jonathan B., 67, 106
Turner, Orsamus, 380n7, 417
Turnham's Landing, Clay County (MO), 217
Tuttle, Daniel, 239, 240, 251n18, 251n19, 252n20, 252n23
Tuttle, Wallace, 240
Tylor, Elizabeth. *See* Brush, Elizabeth (Tylor)

Unadilla (NY), 265
Universal Friend, 155n28
Universalist(s), 21, 21n44, 25, 94, 96n10, 110, 110n21, 165, 166, 166n12, 204n6, 235, 296n2
University of Utah, 442
urim and thummim, 15, 17, 18n31, 86, 231, 232, 415. *See also* seer stone
Utah, 190n7, 240
Utah Christian Advocate, 239, 240, 241, 251n18, 252n23
Utah War, 190n7
Utica (NY), 133n15

Van Woert, Delos, 201, 202, 202n5, 203, 204
Vermont, 129, 151, 160, 225, 228, 293
Vestal, Broome County (NY), 155n29

Wade, B., 407
Wade, Bert, 407n2
Wakeman, Mr., 206, 208
Waller, Nathan, 158n39
Waller's Tavern, 158
Walters, Wesley P., 106, 108n15, 110n25, 128, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 248n5, 253n25, 253n27, 255n31, 255n32, 256n36, 257, 259, 268, 306n28
Ward, C. L., 283, 284
Wasson, Benjamin, 150, 150n5, 158, 364
Wasson, Elizabeth (Hale), 150, 150n5, 317, 318
Wasson, Lorenzo, 150n7
Waterbury (CT), 281
Waterloo (NY), 6, 24n61
Waterman, Thomas G., 242, 255n32
Wayne Sentinel, 20n41, 227
Webster, Daniel, 246, 308
Weed, Thurlow, 227
Wells (VT), 281
Wentz, Mr., 199
West Union (OH), 334
Westfall, Catherine, 435n8
Westfall, James, 435n8
Westfall, Levi, 433, 435, 435n8
Whitmer, Christian, 67n3, 68
Whitmer, David, 5, 22, 35, 38, 44, 48, 49, 50, 59, 66, 67, 67n3, 68, 69, 72, 72n9, 96n12, 97n13, 167, 167n16, 277, 415, 416, 438, 439
Whitmer, David J., 416
Whitmer, John, 5, 22, 34, 35, 36, 38, 41, 50, 58, 59, 63n62, 67, 67n3, 68, 69, 96n12, 97n13, 306-07n29, 307n29, 343, 343n15, 426, 430, 438
Whitmer, Peter, Jr., 38, 48, 63, 66, 67, 68, 69, 72, 167, 167n16, 179n6
Whitmer, Peter, Sr., 37, 48, 60, 114n6, 235, 438

"Widow Harper," 302n10, 408, 412, 412n13
Wilcox, Milo, 206, 207, 208
Wiley, William I., 408, 409, 412, 412n12, 413
Wilkesbarre, Luzerne County (PA), 367, 393
Wilkins, Mrs., 221, 223, 223n12
Wilkins, Preston T., 221, 221n15, 223
Wilkinson, J. B., 412n14
Wilkinson, Jemima, 96n11, 155n28
Wilkinsonians, 96
Willard (UT), 334
Willers, Diedrich, Jr., 189n1
Willes, Ira J., 158n38
Williams, Frederick G., 417n2
Williams, J., 269
Williams, Nathan S., 432
Willoughby (OH), 368
Wilson, Jason, 294
Winchester, Cheshire County (NY), 82
Windham, Luzerne County (PA), 61n57
Windsor, Broome County (NY), 144, 144n3, 158n39, 182-84, 182n1, 183n9, 183n10, 183n12, 184n20, 250n12, 251n16, 252n21, 253, 254n29, 275, 301-302n10, 334, 338, 348, 349n13, 357, 363, 392n15, 395, 395n25, 395n27, 402, 402n10, 410, 412n13, 440
Winter Quarters (NE), 45, 66
Winters, Elizabeth. *See* Squires, Elizabeth (Winters)
Winters, Phebe (Winters), 403
Winters, Silas, 403
Wisconsin, 121n3, 164
Wood, Wilfred C., 424n1, 424n2
Woods Cross (UT), 424n1
Woodward, Charles, 179n12
Wurtsboro, Sullivan County (NY), 337, 345, 357
Wymetal, Wilhelm von Ritter, 299, 305n28, 307n30, 317, 398n1
Wyoming (PA) Conference, 328

Yellowstone Valley (MT), 407
Yeomans, Andrew, 254n29
Yeomans, Jeremiah, 254n29
Yeomans, Mr., 131n9, 254
Yeomans, Solomon, 254n29
Yeomans, William, 254n29
Yoree Branch (Chicago, IL), 100
Yorktown (IL), 86
Young, Brigham, 67, 79, 100, 112, 121, 125, 134n18, 161
Young, Phineas H., 66n1

Zion, 84, 154, 156, 316, 350

In Volume Four:

☛ **FOR COLESVILLE AND SOUTH BAINBRIDGE, NEW YORK**

Bainbridge court record (People v. Joseph Smith), 1826
Sidney Rigdon interview, 1831
Jared Carter reminiscence, 1832
Joseph Knight reminiscence, ca. 1835
Justice Joel K. Noble letter, 1842
Josiah Stowell Jr. letter, 1843
Attorney John S. Reed reminiscence, 1844
Emily Colburn Austin autobiography, 1882
And thirty-seven other documents

☛ **FOR HARMONY, PENNSYLVANIA**

Articles of Agreement, 1825
Anthon transcript, 1827
Tax assessment record, 1828-31
Joseph Smith mortgage, 1830
Headmistress Hupman's ledger, 1830
Isaac Hale statement, 1834
Charles Anthon letter, 1834
Emily Blackman history, 1873
And twenty-nine other documents

Excerpt:

"I will give you a Short history of what I know about Joseph Smith Jr. I have binn Intemetely acquainted with him about 2 years[.] he then was about 20 years old or there about[.] I also went to schoal [school] with him one winter[.] he was a fine likely young man & at that time did not Profess religion[.] he was not a profain man although I did once in a while hear him sware[.] he never gambled to my knowledge[.] I Do not believe he Ever did[.] I well know he was no Hoars [horse] Jocky for he was no Judge of Hoarses[.] I Sold him one[;] that is all I ever knewd he dealt in the kind[.] I never new him to git drunk [although] I believe he would now and then take a glass[.] he never Pretended to Play the Slight [sleight] of hand nor Black leg [horse betting.] it was fashionable at that time to drink Liquor[.] I do not Believe in any religion & there fore am friendly to all[.] I Believe that there is a heaven & hell & those that do not right here through there lives will be damned but still I believe I do right myself[.] I State this for facts that any thing [different] from waht I have Said about Joseph Smith that is wors[e] than I say is fals & untrue." Josiah Stowell, Jr. (son of Joseph Smith's employer) to Elder John S. Fullmer, 17 February 1843

In this series:

1: Smith family and Vermont
2-3: Palmyra and environs
4: Colesville, S. Bainbridge, & Harmony
5: Fayette

ISBN 1-56085-159-7
54495
9 781560 851592